The organs of Westminster Abbey and their music, 1240-1908

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The Organs of Westminster Abbey and their Music, 1240-1908

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Abstract

This dissertation considers the history of the organs in Westminster Abbey and the music performed on them from the eleventh century to the start of the twentieth. It is primarily based on the documentary evidence in Westminster Abbey Library and Muniment Room and transcriptions of material from here form a large part of the appendices. The thesis considers the organs built especially for the Abbey and temporary instruments used for coronations and other events. The organ builders represented include John Howe, Thomas Dallam, John Burwood, Bernard Smith, Christopher Shrider, Thomas Elliot and William Hill.

The organists of Westminster Abbey include the composers Edmund Hooper, Orlando Gibbons, John Blow, Henry Purcell, William Croft, Benjamin Cooke and James Turle. Compositions they wrote while in post are used as sources of information about the organ, and are related to the details of the instrument found in documentary and secondary sources. The compositions are used to evaluate these details when appropriate. A new edition of Benjamin Cooke's organ voluntaries and his Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in G form part of the dissertation. The voluntaries appear together here for the first time in a modern edition.

The choral repertoire is discussed with reference to part books used in the Abbey from the Restoration until the beginning of the twentieth century and to a catalogue of printed music in the choir library compiled around 1905. The role of the organ in the liturgical life of the Abbey is considered, and the political events which affected this are introduced and discussed.

Coronation services take place in the Abbey. The music performed at these from Charles II to Victoria is established as far as possible from service books in Lambeth Palace Library and other sources. The musical forces available at coronations are discussed, including organs built in the Abbey especially for these events.

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Library Sigla

Library Sigla follow the system used in *Grove 6*

Great Britain

AB	National Library of Wales
Bu	Birmingham University
Cul	Cambridge, University Library
DRc	Durham Cathedral
DRu	Durham University
EL	Ely Cathedral Library
Lbl	London, British Library
Lcm	London, Royal College of Music
Llp	London, Lambeth Palace
Lpro	London, Public Record Office
Lwa	London, Westminster Abbey
Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library
T	Tenbury, St. Michael's College
Och	Oxford, Christ Church
Ojc	Oxford, St. John's College
WRch	St. George's Windsor

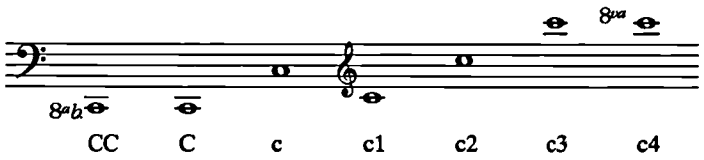
Other Abbreviations

GHMS	London, Guildhall Library Manuscript
WAMS	Westminster Abbey Muniment, all in Lwa

References to documents transcribed in the appendices are followed by their page numbers in the appendix, proceeded by the volume of the dissertation where this is found in Roman numerals. The symbols ^ ^ in a transcription indicate material inserted above the line in the original.

Pitch Notation

For notation of pitch the following scheme is used:



Part 1

Text

1

Introduction

English organ history is almost exclusively based on a study of the instruments themselves, with only incidental reference to their use in the liturgy and the repertory played on them. Organ historians tend to follow the major events in organ-building history, using appropriate examples from around the country to make their various points.

This dissertation takes a different course. It looks at the history of the organs in one location, Westminster Abbey, from the eleventh century to the start of the twentieth. There is a great deal of documentary evidence surviving in Westminster Abbey Library and Muniment Room, which is used as the basis of the study and is transcribed in Appendix 2. This includes references, in varying degrees of detail, to organs built especially for the Abbey and to temporary instruments used for coronations and other events. The organ builders represented include John Howe, Thomas Dallam, John Burwood, Bernard Smith, Christopher Shrider, Thomas Elliot and William Hill.

The written record about the organs is not sufficient to provide all the detail we would like to have about them and their musical use. It is necessary, therefore, to look more widely for evidence. The organists of Westminster Abbey include the composers Edmund Hooper, Orlando Gibbons, John Blow, Henry Purcell, William Croft, Benjamin Cooke, and James Turle. Their activity as composers throws some light on the evolution of the Abbey organs in that the music often implies the resources required for its performance. Their compositions written while they were in post at the Abbey will therefore be used as sources of information about the organ.

The dissertation includes references to part books used in the Abbey from the Restoration until the beginning of the twentieth century, and to a catalogue of printed music in the choir library made around 1905. Using these and other documents the repertoire of the choir will be considered. The role of the organ in the liturgical life of the Abbey is one area where the links between the church and the state are put into sharp relief, and the

political events which affected this are introduced and discussed. In particular, the Abbey church has been used for coronations and other state occasions such as the installation of the Knights of the Bath and the Handel commemorations. These events all involved organ building, providing alternative instruments for a specific purpose or removing an organ from the Abbey to make space for the ceremony. They are all closely connected with the state and show a close relationship between ceremonial state occasions and the provision of organ music.

There have been two previous publications about the Abbey organ, both now out of print; Douglas Guest's *A Short History of the Organs of Westminster Abbey, London* (1970) has only 20 pages. Jocelyn Perkins's *The Organs and Bells of Westminster Abbey* (1937) is a far more thorough book and follows the history up to the 1936 organ. Neither of these histories puts the organ into a wider musical context, nor do they discuss organs used in the Abbey for other occasions. The 1923 article by Andrew Freeman in *The Organ*, 'Westminster Abbey Organs', is the other significant contribution to the written history of this instrument.

Appendix 1 is an edition of Benjamin Cooke's voluntaries from Lcm MS 810 that appear together for the first time in modern notation, along with a full score of his Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis from his Service in G major. These scores are used to discuss the organ during Cooke's time as organist of Westminster Abbey, and introduce new material to the discussion of this instrument. Appendix 2 contains transcriptions of original documents directly relevant to this study, many of them appearing for the first time. Records from the muniments, minutes and accounts of Westminster Abbey form the larger proportion of this. These documents are supplemented by transcriptions of relevant items from organ builders' archives and the archives of Lambeth Palace, which have information relating to the coronation service. Appendix 5 is an analysis of the repertoire of the choir in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by composer and genre. This is based on part books from the Abbey and on an index to the choir library, the latter appearing for the first time in a discussion of the choir's activities.

This study of the organs in one location brings together the organ building and musical history of the Abbey, maintaining a focus on the role of the organ and its musical and technical development. The wider sociological implications of the organ are only lightly touched on and work could be done to develop a suitable methodology and terms of reference for a broader contextual study based on the documents available in the appendices.

I am grateful to many people for their enthusiastic support and encouragement of this study. Firstly in am indebted to my supervisors Professor Kimberly Marshall, who accepted my research proposal, and Dr. Peter Holman who worked with me after Professor Marshall's return to the USA, and to Dr. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, Professor Ian Spink and Professor Peter Williams. The staff of the Westminster Abbey Library and Muniment Room have been unfailingly helpful. The Keeper of the Muniments, Dr. Richard Mortimer, the Librarian, Dr. Tony Trowles and Christine Reynolds have gone beyond the call of duty in introducing me to items in the collection which proved to be valuable to the study. I am grateful to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster for permission to reproduce material from their library.

Other people who have taken trouble to answer written or personal enquiries include Richard Barnes, Robert Bruce (Bodleian Library), Professor John Harper (Director, Royal School of Church Music), Jill Kelsey (Assistant Archivist, The Royal Archives, Windsor), Robin Langley (Librarian, Royal College of Organists), Philip Olleson, Dr. Eileen Scarff (Archivist, St. George's Chapel Windsor), E. B. Nurse (The Society of Antiquaries, London), David Wickens (British Organ Archive), and Rodney Williams (Choir Librarian, Westminster Abbey).

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The Organs before the Commonwealth

It is not known when organs became a permanent feature of Christian churches. 'The problems concerning the organ's first introduction into religious ceremonies have never been satisfactorily explained... and there is no known official text among the pontifical archives [sic] which authorises the use of the instrument' (Perrot 1971: 218). When an organ was first used in the Abbey is not known. The most we can do it to use information from outside Westminster to determine what was likely to have been happening in the Abbey and to put the few pieces of information surviving there into context.

Speaking of this period in general, Peter Williams commented that absence of information does not mean the absence of an organ, and it could be that an 'organ was there but the documentation was not' (Williams 1993a: 7). By 1095 organs could be found in the north-west sector of a circle centred on Rome and ending at the English Wash (Williams 1993a: 2). How organs came to be installed in churches in England is unclear. Organs are documented in late-tenth century England at Ramsey, Abingdon, Malmsbury and Winchester (Williams 1993a: 58). They are especially associated with monasteries of the Benedictine order where the technical skills, especially wood and metal working, and the time needed to develop these instruments were found (Williams 1993a: 3). Travels by members of Benedictine communities from England to Rome and other European cities would have given them ample opportunity to see organs in continental Europe and inspired the desire to emulate them in England. There is a celebrated account of an organ at Winchester from the late-tenth century that appears to describe a large instrument used for festival occasions. The organ, like bells, made a loud noise which could be heard throughout the city. It was for the benefit of the public on festive occasions and a source of civic pride (see Williams 1993b: 187ff). The technology to make organs was present in both metalwork and carpentry at this date. An account of an organ in Fécamp Abbey written between 1114 and 1130 includes references to bronze pipes, blacksmiths' bellows, low, medium and high notes, a continuous sound, and a uniting of voices old and young

(this last phrase is ambiguous) (cited Perrot 1971: 220). Similar skills in metal and wood were necessary for making organs as for bells and the wooden frames on which they hung.

By the twelfth century there are references to organs in England in the great churches at Ely, Winchester, Bury St. Edmunds, Rochester and Canterbury (Bicknell 1996: 17). In 1174 Canterbury cathedral had an organ in the southernmost bay of the south-west transept, in a tribune vault or gallery some 28 feet above floor level (Bowers 1995: 417). Bowers suggests that this elevated position close to, but not immediately adjacent to, the ritual choir was the normal place for an organ at this date (Bowers 1995: 417). The 'watching' or 'minstrels' galleries in the naves of Malmsbury Abbey (twelfth century), Exeter Cathedral (fourteenth century), and the thirteenth-century west-end gallery at Salisbury all suggest themselves as places for organs (Steele 1958: 8). A discussion of the layout of Winchester Cathedral in 994 gives these possible locations for an organ:

> Towers and porch - which may have been open to the outside
> Westwork - there was presumably an upper floor in the wide tower-space that prefaced the nave
> North/south porticus - could have housed an organ with the bellows at ground floor level and the chest and keys on the floor above
> Apses at the 'crossing' - especially if the organ had a public function not necessarily liturgical, but near to the shrine and where processions could have emerged from the eastern crypt-spaces (Williams 1993b: 132-4).

What would have been the role of any such organ? One possible early use of organ music in the liturgy is for processions. This is particularly suited to cathedral complexes with several buildings, including those with an abbey and royal palace, such as Westminster in the eleventh century (Williams 1993b: 76). Could there have been organs in use at Westminster as an adjunct to processions? The use of an organ at Ramsey Abbey on feast days in the tenth century is documented, where the sound of the organ was 'resonant over some distance' (Williams 1993a: 59). How far was this sound heard? It was loud by the standards of the time, and the sound 'resonant over some distance' implies that it was heard outside. Was the organ being used in a way similar to bells as a signal instrument rather than as a musical instrument within the church? The Abbot of Riévaulx Abbey in Yorkshire complained about the loudness of the organ in 1166. He said that there were a 'great number of organs and bells.... What use, pray, is this terrifying blast from the bellows that

is better suited to imitate the noise of thunder than the sweetness of the human voice?' (cited Perrot 1971: 221). This implies that the organ was louder than other instruments the Abbot had heard, and it also links the organ with bells. Organs and bells are often linked at times of festivity. At Durham in 1264 the bells and organ were linked by one Hugo Derlington, sub-prior and later prior of Durham, who made 'magnum campanile, organa grandiora' (Raine 1839: 46 cited Fowler 1903: 297). Likewise, Bowers argues that at Lincoln in the early-fourteenth century the organ was used to distinguish the greater festival days much as were peals of bells, and would have been a random generator of joyful noise (Bowers 1994: 53). At Winchester in 1334 the restoration of the Bishop was marked by the ringing of the bells, playing the organ and singing a Te Deum (Routh 1973: 9).

The organ did not always have a role in the daily liturgy of the Church. Williams argues that before the fifteenth century it must have been rare for an organ to have been used for the daily office: its use was confined to feast days, during and outside the services (Williams 1993a: 77). In 1331 an organ blower was paid for the principal feast days at Norwich Cathedral (Aston & Roast 1996: 689). However, by 1379-80 at Norwich the little organ in the Chapel of St. Mary was used daily for the Lady Mass (Aston & Roast 1996: 689). Bowers suggests that in Lincoln at the end of the fourteenth century the organ was probably being deployed as a more refined and considered contributor to the musical character of the liturgical services (Bowers 1994: 53). At Lincoln it was used for Sundays, principal and double feasts in 1524 and, from 1539, all feasts of nine lessons and on feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Hugh (Bowers 1994: 60-61).

A detailed account of the use of the organ at Durham Cathedral appears in the 'Ancient Rites of the Monastical and Cathedral Church of Durham'. Compiled c.1595 from various earlier manuscripts the 'Rites... of Durham' appear to describe earlier, pre-Reformation, practice. The author describes the organs in the Quire of Durham Cathedral:

> There was 3 paire of organs belonginge to the said quire... one of the fairest pair of the 3 did stand ouer the quire dore only opened and playd uppon at prinicpall feastes, the pipes beinge all of most fine wood, and workmanshipp uerye faire partly gilted uppon the inside and the outside of the leaues and covers up to the top, with branches and flowers finely gilted with the name of Jesus gilted with gold there was but 2 paire more of them in all England of the same makinge, one paire in Yorke and another in Paules, also there was a letterne of wood like unto a pulpit

> standinge and adioyninge to the wood organs ouer the quire dore, where they had wont to singe the 9 lessons, in the old time on principall dayes standinge with theire faces towards the high altar.
>
> The second paire stood on the north side of the quire being neuer playd uppon but when the 4 doctors of the church were read, viz. Augustine, Ambrose, Gregorye and Jerome beinge a faire paire of large organs called the cryers. The third paire was dayly used at ordinary seruice (DRu MS. Cosin B.II.11).

The term 'cryer' was used to describe a small bell in a will of 1467 (Fowler 1903: 208) but the word also has associations with a 'town crier' who was heard throughout a town. The third pair of organs were also called the 'White Organs' (Fowler 1903: 208). A plan of Durham Cathedral published in 1801 by the Society of Antiquaries of London shows the organ loft before the Jesus altar at the north-east corner of the nave, the 'cryers' at the north-west side of the Quire and the White Organs at the south-west end of the Quire (bound in Fowler 1903).

The 'Rites... of Durham' tell us that the master of the choristers:

> was bownd to plaie on ye orgains e[ver]y p[ri]ncipall daie, when ye mouncks did sing ther high messe and likewise at evinsong, but ye mouncks when thei weare at there mattens and s[er]vice at mydnighte thene one of the said mounckes did plaie on the orgains themselves and no other (DRc MS.C.III.23).

He also played daily at Mass in the Galilee chapel (Fowler 1903: 43). Although the chapel was built in the twelfth century the date of the organ-playing is unclear.

The 'Rites... of Durham' show that there was more than one organ in a medieval abbey church at the same time and that each had a particular liturgical significance. In some larger churches there seem to have been three organs; the great organ in the rood loft, a small organ in the choir and another small organ in the Lady chapel (Steele 1958: 8). Possible uses for these could be the Lady chapel organ for Lady Mass, the rood loft organ for festivals and the organ in the choir for use in the liturgy. This would provide the two small organs for use with the vocal choir, and the larger for the benefit of the whole building. In 1474 St. Margaret's Westminster had two organs called the small and the wall organs (Westlake 1914: 143). In 1485/6 there is a mention of repairs to an organ in the Churchwardens' accounts for St. Margaret's Westminster 'Item paid for mending of bellouse of the organs in the Rode lofte vj^{d}' (Westlake 1914: 153). The rood loft was a

favoured position for siting an organ at this time as it was near the choir and gave the organist good visual contact with the priest at the altar.

Early Organ References - Westminster

When was an organ first heard in Westminster? In 1051 Westminster Abbey was the largest building in England. It took its design from contemporary continental churches (Mason 1996: 13). Westminster was a Benedictine house and the splendour of the new church coupled with the organ-building knowledge available to the Benedictines makes it possible that there was an eleventh-century organ there that is not recorded in any surviving documents. If an organ was heard at the coronation of William in 1066 there is no record of this in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Williams 1993b: 367). This may not be surprising as in 1066 the choir and nave of the new church were still unfinished. It was not until 1087-1154 that Westminster started to emerge and rival the longer established monastic houses. One possible hindrance to the arrival of an organ at Westminster in the twelfth century could have been lack of funds. In 1130 the Abbey was indebted to the crown by 1,000 marks (Mason 1996: 32-3), and the threats to the monarchy later in the century depleted the income from the Abbey's estates (Mason 1996: 50-1).

The earliest reference to the organ in Westminster Abbey is in a liberate roll (Lpro C62/4) 23 February 1240. This records a gift from Henry III to the Prior of Westminster of 3 marks for the repairs of the organs (organa) of St. Peter's Church. The reference to repairs implies that the organ was not new at this date. The sum of 3 marks, equivalent to £2 sterling, was a considerable sum of money for repairs to an organ and suggests a large instrument, more than one organ or very extensive repair work. The use of the plural term 'organa' need not imply that repairs were carried out to more than one instrument. A single instrument was commonly given the plural noun possibly indicating plurality of crafts in its manufacture, plurality of pipes and keys or a distinction between the instrument and its case. Other keyboard instruments, the virginals and regals, were also referred to as a pair, as were bellows.

New choirstalls were built at Westminster around 1245, and the woodworking techniques employed in them (doweling, tenon-and-mortice work) would be appropriate for building large structures for the load-bearing part of a wooden organ frame (Williams 1993b: 318). Thus it is possible that the installation of the new choirstalls might have been used as an opportunity to build a new organ. Henry III gave the Abbey a hanging to fix opposite the organs, probably in the mid-thirteenth century (Lethaby 1906: 111). This could have been opposite an organ in the choir, where the two things would be close enough to be meaningfully described in this way. The presence of an organ near where the vocal choir performed the liturgy clearly has implications for its use. Further, an organ in this location is more likely to be on a scale to be used indoors, rather than as a signal for outside auditors as might be the case when it was placed adjacent to an outside wall or in a tower. Thus, on balance, it seems probable that the organ opposite Henry III's hanging was intended for use within the liturgy and in relation to the choir. Records linking the use of the organ and bells at Westminster from the thirteenth century do not survive, although this use was suggested by Westlake:

> Intimately connected in the ritual of the church with the use of bells was the use of the organ. On certain days both were prescribed and on other days only one of the two. Unfortunately that portion of the Customary which deals with the use of Westminster in this matter has not survived... (Westlake 1923: 2/301).

The earliest reference to the organs to survive at the Abbey is in an inventory roll dated June 11 1304. The list of the furnishings of the Lady chapel includes two organs:

> unum parem organorum inferius super gradum; aliud parem maiorum organorum superius in muro cum ij pannis depictus circa eadem extentis (WAMS 23,180; ii/357 in Westlake 1923: 2/502).
>
> One pair of organs below the step: another pair of greater organs above on [in] the wall, with ij painted cloths stretched round them (translation: Freeman 1923a: 130).

This suggests that there were two organs in the Lady chapel in 1304, the larger one beyond the 'gradual' step to the altar. The larger instrument was built in the wall, possibly with panelled doors, over which painted canvas was stretched, enclosing the organ (Williams 1993b: 323). Placing doors on the front of an organ is a continental European practice which has not been identified by other commentators on the English organ of this period. Freeman also suggests that if there were two organs in the Lady chapel there must have

been another, larger one, in the quire (Freeman 1923a: 130); this seems a reasonable idea as the organ would be sited near another place of liturgical activity, which is confirmed by payments for its maintenance (WAMS 19,635; ii/356). By the end of the Middle Ages the liturgy was confined to the choir and the Lady chapel; the nave of the church was rarely used. The requirement to 'keep the organs daily' at Lady Mass was often part of organists' contracts (Steele 1958: 8) and the tradition of using the organ and choir for this might have started by the early-fourteenth century at Westminster.

In Chaucer's tale of the Cock and the Fox, Chaunticlere, the hero of the poem, says:

> His vois was merier than the mery orgon,
> On messe-days that in the chirche gon
> Wel sikerer was his crowing in his logge,
> Than is a clokke, or an abbey orlogge (Chaucer 1920: 543, line 4041-4)

Geoffrey Chaucer (1340-1400) was a Londoner, and he took a house in Westminster near the east end of the Abbey in 1399 (Chaucer 1920: xii). He may have had the clock and organ of the Abbey in mind when he wrote this poem. The crowing of the cock was a public signal, like the bells of a clock, which was linked by Chaucer to the organ on Mass days. In The Second Nun's Tale speaking of St. Cecilia, Chaucer says:

> And whyl the organs maden melodie,
> To god alone in herte thus sung she (Chaucer 1920: 651, lines 134-5)

The possible linking of organs and bells by Chaucer promotes the idea that the organ could be heard in the town, suggesting that making a loud noise was still one of its uses. However, the reference to the organ's 'melodie' implies a musical and not noise-making role. The first reference to an organist at the Abbey appears in the Treasurers Account for 1387-8, which refers to payments to Nicholas of 26/8 [sic] for playing the organ (WAMS 19,875; ii/357). Maybe this Nicholas or his successor was heard by Chaucer.

At the end of the fourteenth century there are references to an organ in the choir and another in St. Mary's chapel at Westminster (WAMS 19,635; ii/356 and WAMS 23,196; ii/358). If the Lady chapel and St. Mary's chapel are the same place, this gives a total of three organs: two in the Lady chapel and one in the choir. We do not know what these organs were like, or what part they played in the liturgy, an absence of detail which is not uncommon. For

instance a contemporary account of organ building at Ely Cathedral in 1396 survives in a nineteenth-century transcription of the Precentor's roll. This lacks any real information about the finished instrument, or even if it was new at that date. One interpretation of the detail available is that it had 12 notes and a substantial chorus based on an 8'-12' pipe (Bicknell 1985a: 30). Is this the type of instrument used at Westminster?

Fifteenth-Century References to the Organ

There was a new 'great organ' in St. Mary's chapel in 1415-16. The accounts of the Warden of St. Mary's chapel for this (WAMS 23,209; ii/358) tell us that it cost 100s, and the sale of the old organ raised 20s. This chapel was above the high altar at the east end of the Abbey and was taken down in 1502/3 to make way for Henry VII's chapel.

In 1422-3 the smaller pair of organs was mended 'by brother Thomas Gedney' (WAMS 19,663; ii/356 translated Freeman 1923a: 130). We are not told if Gedney was the organ builder or the monk who was responsible for paying him. The term 'lesser pair' implies that there was a greater organ, and in 1424-5 the bellows of the great organ (magnorum organorum) were mended for 5s 2p (WAMS 19,666; ii/356). The organs in the choir were mended in the year 1434-5, for 20p (WAMS 19,676 and 19,677). These are probably the organs already referred to in the Sacrist's account.

In the year 1440-41 a new pair of organs was made for the choir for £6 0s 8d plus 13s 8d from the Prior (WAMS 19,692; ii/356 translated Freeman 1923a 131). Is this the same new organ mentioned in 1441-2 in the Sacrist's accounts when 10 marks were paid and the old organ given in exchange for the new one (WAMS 19,685; ii/356)? These references could be in different accounting years but only a month or so apart. If this was a replacement for the smaller organ in the choir, both the organs there were new in the first half of the fifteenth century. The name(s) of the organ builders are not recorded.

The first reference to a named organ builder at the Abbey is to 'William' in the accounts for 1444-5 (WAMS 23,074; ii/357). Again in 1465-6 'William [the] organmaker' was paid 6s 8p for mending the organs (WAMS 19,715; ii/357). William also worked at St. Margaret's

Church at this date, as recorded in the Churchwardens' accounts (Westlake 1914: 139). Further repairs are recorded in 1470-1 for 3s 4d (WAMS 19,717; ii/357), in 1473-4 (WAMS 19,720 and 19,721; ii/357) and 1474-5 for 20d (WAMS 19,722; ii/357), and to the smaller organs in 1477-8, for 4d (WAMS 19,725; ii/357). The payments to named organ builders record a process by which organ building skills were bought in from professional organ builders outside the monastic community, and illustrate the development of organ building as a distinct trade. The Warden of St. Mary's chapel sold 41 lbs of metal of old organ pipes in 1475-6, for which he received 10s 3d (WAMS 23,250; ii/358). The provenance of this metal is a mystery. There is no reference to a new organ at this time although when new organs were built earlier in the century the old ones were used in part payment. In 1530 the organ in the Jesus chapel [later known as the Islip chapel] was repaired by Antony Newman for 15s (WAMS 33,303; ii/361).

Evidence from other organs

At the end of the fifteenth century the Abbey had lesser and greater organs in the choir, two organs in St. Mary's chapel, and possibly an organ in the Jesus chapel. Details of these instruments do not survive. We know little about them in general and accounts of pre-Reformation English organs are scarce. The proliferation of organs within one church and their association with centres of liturgical activity points to their modest size (Bicknell 1996: 23). The following discussion of the pre-Reformation English organ is the nearest we can get to describing any organ that might have been in the Abbey at this time.

A mid-fifteenth century organ in the Beauchamp chapel, St. Mary's, Warwick is illustrated in a stained glass window in the Church. This is detailed enough to show keys, a chromatic keyboard, separate winding, decorative casework, and a symmetrical pipe display. It is clear that it is a portable type of instrument (Bicknell 1996: 24). Two pre-Reformation English soundboards discovered in Suffolk are important sources of detail for organs built in England around this time. These artefacts are known after their places of discovery as the Wetheringsett and Wingfield soundboards. The Wetheringsett soundboard is thought to be from an organ with a mitred pipe field, with the longest pipe being five foot speaking length, and the overall case dimensions being 12 feet high by 5 feet wide and 2 feet 4

inches deep (Gwynn 1996: 9-10). The organ had forty-six keys and seven stops. Gwynn suggests that these stops could have been one at ten foot pitch with a stopped bass, three at five foot pitch, two Octaves and one Fifteenth (Gwynn 1996: 18). A soundboard from a smaller instrument was found at Wingfield which had five stops, one permanently on and four with sliders (Bicknell 1996: 33). Making a bold assumption from the Wetheringset and Wingfield soundboards, Bicknell says that 'if these fragments are representative of the organs which have been lost they tend to confirm that a modest sized positive organ was the norm' (Bicknell 1996: 34). One weakness with this assumption is that smaller organs are more likely to have survived. The larger and more obvious instruments are the ones which would be removed first as changes of liturgical activity and political directions rendered them obsolete. The small and obscure organs would be less susceptible to destruction because of liturgical and political changes.

There are two early references to stops in the details of an organ in England in 1512, one to that at the church in Westerham, Kent (Steele 1958: 9) and the other to that at Butley Priory in Suffolk. At the latter the organ in the Lady chapel had two stops described as 'ii *obstruccionibus*' which suggests that they were to obstruct wind from some ranks of a blockwerk (Dickens 1951: xi, 28). The All Hallowes Barking contract of 1519 is the earliest detailed account of an English organ we have (Steele 1958: 1) and is for an organ with two ranks of pipes and 27 keys from c to a^2. In 1534 Butley Priory had a new organ with five stops placed in the choir (Dickens 1951: xi, 66). Do these instruments bear any resemblance to the Abbey organ? By comparison with what was done elsewhere we know that the organ could have had separately controllable stops, could have been a 'transposing organ' (or second pitch) the lowest key sounding F not C, and probably had a chromatic keyboard.

Repertory and Use

When did the organ move from making 'festive noises' to providing 'true organ music' (Williams 1993a: 81)? Some unusual notation in the second Winchester Troper, copied c.996-1006 (Lefferts 1990: 171) led Peter Lefferts to suggest that the use of the organ is indicated. In several proses in this Troper there are not only plainchant neumes but also an alphabetic notation of pitch of a melody. Lefferts suggests that this corresponds to the labelling of keys on the Winchester organ (Lefferts 1990: 173). He gives no evidence for the date of the alphabetic notation or for labelling over the keys of the organ. This early date for the melodic use of the organ is not corroborated by any other scholars. No further evidence is given to support his assertion that this notation 'suggests that the first half of each double-versicle melody of the prose was played on, or accompanied by, the organ'.

Organ playing as a skill in its own right emerged in England during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the thirteenth century the Chapel Royal was formed. This is a distinct body of musicians who were attached to the court and travelled with the sovereign. One of the qualities of a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal was to be 'sufficient in organes pleyyng' (Thurley 1993: 195). In 1333 at Norwich Cathedral 'Adam the organist' is the first organist mentioned by name (Aston & Roast 1996: 689). The first mention of the organ at Lincoln is from the early-fourteenth century, and Bowers suggests it was a small and free-standing positive played by one man and blown by another (Bowers 1994: 53). The proximity of an organ to the vocal choir implies a role for it in the liturgy. Is there also a relationship between the emergence of the organist as a specific post, and a role for the organ in the liturgy? This could coincide with the development of the instrument in a controlled musical role. At Canterbury the monk William Bonyngton (1381-1412) was remembered as a 'player of polyphonic music and as a singer' (Bowers 1995: 419) which Bowers argues refers to playing the organ, now recognised as a musical instrument. Did Bonyngton play polyphony on the organ? This surely implies using individual fingers on separate keys to facilitate playing two or more parts together, and possibly a chromatic keyboard. In continental Europe some organs were fully chromatic by the fourteenth century (Marshall 1995: 9). Had it now moved away from the noise-making role, suggested earlier, and become more controllable, maybe even gaining a keyboard? Possibly

the earliest manuscript organ music in England is the Robertsbridge Codex, c.1359 (Marshall 1995: 32). The dating of this manuscript and whether it is even organ music are both in dispute. Although it is not liturgical music, it offers a possible link between the emergence of notated organ music and the title of organist; furthermore, it concurs with the Norwich reference to 'Adam the organist' in 1333. This would imply an organ with a keyboard which allowed the performance of polyphony. The Faenza Codex, from around 1430, contains settings of the Kyrie and Gloria 'presumably for liturgical use in alternatim with choir' (Marshall 1995: 33) and is possibly the earliest notated source of alternatim practice (but see McGee 1988). The Buxheimer Orgelbuch, the most important source of fifteenth-century organ music, contains 'intabulations of pre-existing polyphony, settings of pre-existing monophony, freely invented preludes, and collections of short didactic pieces known as fundementa' (Marshall 1995: 33; Wallner, 1958). Clearly organ music had reached an advanced state on the continent by the end of the fifteenth century, and in view of close links with England, despite (in some respects because of) the Hundred Years War, it seems likely that Westminster Abbey, at least, would not have lagged far behind.

Certainly, the fifteenth century seems to have been a thriving time for the Abbey's music. It saw two new organs built and the appointment of a teacher for the singing boys. Some visitors from Bohemia in 1466 described the music of the Abbey as 'delightful to hear' (Lethaby 1906: 27), though the music they heard and its context are sadly not recorded. The first mention of singing boys at the Abbey is in the Almoner's accounts for 1479-80 (WAMS 19,087), which record payments to William Cornysshe for teaching the singing boys. This was William Cornish (d.1502) known as 'the elder' who was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal from 1493 until his death (Kisby 1995: 236). Continental pictures suggest that organists may have begun to accompany choirs at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The engraving of Emperor Maximilian hearing Mass at Augsburg in 1518 shows what may be the performance of a polyphonic choir accompanied by keyboard. Alternative explanations are that it was an alternatim performance or that the artist was just depicting the resources of the chapel: the organist and a choir (Holman 1996a: 354). In England there is no evidence that the organ was used to accompany the choir before the Reformation. Much organ music would have been improvised. Since the

organists were selected from the [adult] choristers, and the choristers were taught to improvise polyphony, some of the organ improvisation would have been polyphonic (Harper 1999: 5). The music of the Chapel Royal in the early decades of Henry VIII's reign was in the exuberant, grand-scale polyphonic tradition of the late-fifteenth century (Monson 1989: 311). The royal influence over the Abbey may have been sufficient to maintain the elaborate polyphony of Fayrfax, Ludford and Taverner there.

The Upper chapel (now known as the Upper Islip chapel) with its organ was where the Jesus Mass was sung after compline on Friday evenings. Devotions to Mary became increasingly popular during the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and are particularly associated with polyphony (Lefferts 1990: 192). At Durham there was a loft for the choristers to sing a Jesus Mass every Friday on the north side before the Jesus altar, 'conteyninge a paire of orgaines to play on, & a fair desk to lie there bookes on in tyme of dyvin s[er]vice' (cited Fowler 1903: 34). This could have been the practice at the Abbey. From 1480-1540 the Lady chapel choir of three or four men and six boys met twice each day, to sing Lady Mass in the morning and the votive antiphon in the late afternoon (Bowers 1992: 4-5). An inventory of the Lady chapel from 1485-90 lists a 'pryked songe boke' and 'iii olde bokes of which i ys of prykkyd songe and the odyr ii of playn songe (Kisby 1995: 237, citing WAMS 23,258, 23,261). There was a Lady chapel choir from at least 1511 and Henry VII's new Lady chapel was completed in 1512. Lady Mass and a votive antiphon were sung there daily by a lay professional choir - the monks continuing to sing the liturgy of the High Mass and the office in the principal choir (Bowers 1992: 5). Musicians are identified with the Lady chapel choir from the early-sixteenth century (Kisby 1995: 236-7). In 1542 a weekly Jesus Mass and daily Jesus antiphon were sung at Lincoln (Bowers 1994: 60).

Works based on plainchant make up most of the earliest surviving English music for organ, which dates from the first half of the sixteenth century (Cox 1986a: iv). The period saw the development in England of alternatim performance between the organ and plainchant (Morehen 1995: 40). John Redford (d. 1547), the master of the choristers and organist of St. Paul's Cathedral, composed such pieces including a Magnificat and the hymn for the

First Vespers of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary 'O quam glorifica' (Cox 1986a: v). There is no evidence from this period of the organ being used to accompany voices (Caldwell 1996: 1). The repertoire in Cardinal Wolsey's chapel emulated that of the Chapel Royal, where the repertoire consisted of an annual cycle of liturgical plainsong, with elaborate descant, faburden and choral polyphony (Bowers 1991: 182-3). By 1542 the Polyphony used for the Lady Mass was usually sung with organ alternation (Bowers 1994: 60). In Wolsey's chapel the organ was played at suitable points in the Mass or office and in alternation with the voices in plainsong items, but not to accompany the voices (Bowers 1991: 184).

A substantial corpus of pre-Reformation liturgical organ music survives in Lbl Add 29,996. It contains music for the Mass and the office. The Mass music includes offertories, especially for the feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, settings of the ordinary (Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus) and a communion (Caldwell 1967). The music for the office includes Te Deum, antiphons (Beatus Laurentius, Glorificamus, Lucem Tuam, Miserere) and hymns (Caldwell 1965). This manuscript provides music for alternatim performance, with the organ replacing sections of the sung chant. Contributors to this manuscript include Avery Burton, John Redford, Thomas Preston, Philip ap Rhys, Richard Wynslate and John Thorne. The surviving repertory suggests that the organ was used chiefly to provide polyphony on lesser festivals when the polyphonic choir was not present. There are no settings of hymns for the major festivals (e.g. Epiphany, Ascension, Whitsunday) when the full choir would have been in attendance (Harrison 1963: 217). Langley suggests that this manuscript is a small indication of a much larger body of music that has not survived (Langley 1988: 1/iv).

The sixteenth century saw a proliferation of organ building: by 1552 there was hardly a church in London without at least one organ and 76 London parishes had built at least two organs (Monson 1989: 315) and most cathedrals had at least three (Steele 1958: 22). Some evidence for organs is found in the inventories of chantry chapels taken during the reign of Edward VI (see Graham 1920: vii-xxxi, 66, 107, 131) The survival of organ music from this time, and the indication that much more did not survive, points to an important pre-

Reformation organ culture and tradition in England, and there is no reason to consider the Abbey was an exception to this.

We can learn something of the pre-Reformation, sixteenth-century use of the organ, and of music in the Abbey, from references to them occasioned by the English Reformation. For instance there is this complaint to Henry VIII in 1536:

> the singing and saying of Mass, Matins, or Evensong, as but a roarying, howling, whistleying, mumming, conjuring, and jozelying, and the playing of the organys a foolish vanitie (Pine 1953: 29, citing *Seventy-eight Faults and Abuses of Religion*).

In essence this implies that the services at the Abbey of the Mass, matins and evensong were sung by the choir, and that the organ had a role, perhaps in alternatim or accompanying the singers. The playing of the organs as a 'foolish vanitie' perhaps suggests a solo performance. The volume of the organ may not have been as great as that of the choir, since the singers are referred to as 'roarying, howling' rather than the organ. At some cathedrals the Bishop ordered the removal of organ music from the service and of the organs themselves, e.g. York and Ely and Winchester (Steele 1958: 26). An inventory drawn up at the dissolution of the monasteries in 1540 lists three organs in the Abbey:

> ij payre of organes in the quyre, and in the Jhesus chapell above a payer of Organys with a corten of lynen cloth to cover them (Perkins 1937: 3).

This is two organs fewer than might be expected. Previous references lead us to expect two in the choir, two in the Lady chapel, one in the Jesus chapel.

The surrender of the Abbey took effect on 16 January, 1540 (Carpenter 1972: 109). It lay 'empty and desolate' for nearly a year until it was reopened as the Cathedral Church of the Diocese of Westminster on 17 December, 1540 (Carpenter 1972: 110). The Lady chapel choir occupied stalls in the main choir of the newly formed cathedral (Knighton 1997b: 1), and became the nucleus of the cathedral choir (Bowers 1992: 6). Robert Fox succeeded William Greene as master of the choristers in 1543, and had a house over the gate into the Almonry for himself and the choristers (Chapter Book 1, 26 January 1544; ii/293). Mary's accession in 1553 was the financial salvation of the cathedral. It heralded much repair of damage and neglect, including the purchase of 10 antiphoners and graduals, 22 processionals and 4 hymnals for the choir (Knighton 1997b: 4).

The Post-Reformation Organ

In 1553 a pair of organs from St. Andrew's Church, Holborn, London, was transferred to Westminster Cathedral 'in a manner as irregular as it was astonishing' (Perkins 1937: 4). The churchwarden of St. Andrew's, John Langston, sold this organ without the permission of the parish or its minister, as told in this account:

> He pulled down ye loft, and sold the fayre Orgaynes and excellent Instruments for $x^{l}x^{s}$ unto ye Deane of Westminster and ye Mynster Church ther where now they stand and cannot be bought for any money so highly are they esteemed for their goodness (from *Bentley's Book*, cited without reference in Perkins 1937: 4; Freeman 1923a: 134 from *Dictionary of Organs and Organists*, 39).

This sale was formalised in a bond between the Churchwardens of St. Andrew, Holborn, and two gentlemen of St. Margaret's, Westminster:

> The condicon of this obligation is such that wherer the w^{th}in bounded John Langston & John Cose haue for the sume of tenne pounds tenne shillings of lawfull Englishe monye bargayned and solde to the w^{th}inamed [sic] Robert Whyte & John Thomas the great Organs of the paryshe above written and all the furniture of the same: If therefore the said Organs be at any tyme hereafter by thinhabitauntes of this parish..... lawfully evicted of recou^{er}ed by due course of lawe to thuse of this parishe agaynst the said Robert Whyt & John Thom^{a}s..... and that within three monthes next after suche eviccon & recou^{er}ye had and the said Organs redeliu^{er}ed to thuse of the said parish in as gode plight as they nowe be..... doe paye or cause to be payed to the said Robert Whit & John Thomas .... the sum of tenne poundes & tenne shillinges of lyke lawfull monye of England with all such reasonable costes and charges as the said Robert Whyt shall sustaine as well in as by the said recou^{er}ye soe to be has as also in and about the removinge takynge downe cariage & recariage of the said organs from & to the church of St. Andrewes aforesaid.... (Freeman 1923a: 134)

Freeman suggests that the Abbey retained the organ in question and there is no record of any litigation (Freeman 1923a: 134). (St Andrew's was not an Abbey living)

John Howe (d 1571) a prominent London organ builder, first worked at the Abbey in 1553 the year of the Holborn incident. An aquittance for 32s for mending the 'orgaynes' at the cathedral church survives from this year (WAMS 37,397, ii/368). A further receipt from this year (1553-4) also for 32 (WAMS 37,421; ii/368) is an account for mending the organ in the Henry VII [chapel] for 10s and the great organs in the loft, 20s, along with a quarter's fee of 2s. It contains details of the work effected and introduces several items which recur over the ensuing years. Releathering the bellows, new hinges, soldering,

purchasing glue and coals (for fire to heat the glue) are frequent expenses. We can also note, from Howe's receipts, the use of both wooden and metal pipes in the organs at this time. A further acquittance of 10p for repairs of the organs survives from this year, in this case from Thomas Howe for releathering the soundboard and setting in new springs (WAMS 37,566; ii/369). This may be for materials used, the work being charged in the above quoted receipt. The brass-like Latyn wire, for springs for the keys, is also specified.

The organ in the Henry VII chapel is here mentioned for the first time, although it is likely that there was an organ here before the Reformation (see above p. 21). This chapel was built 1502-1512. Howe's account for releathering dated 1553 implies that the organ was not new although this does not imply that it was always in the Henry VII chapel. If we assume that an organ was supplied for the new chapel the closest surviving contemporary contract for an organ of a suitable date is that built in 1526 for St. Mary's, Coventry, by the London-based John Howe and John Clynmowe, and is for an organ of 7 stops, '27 plain keys and 19 musiks' and the lowest note 'Doble Cffaut' (Bicknell 1985a: 40). One of the builders, John Howe, also worked at the Abbey, and the document tells us that he could build new organs with several stops and a chromatic keyboard.

In 1553 Howe was paid for 'tewnyng of both the orgaynes' - presumably the 'great organynes' in the choir and the organ in Henry VII chapel. The consistent references to two organs in the care of John Howe imply either that there were only two organs in the Abbey in the mid-sixteenth century, or that only two were maintained by him. This may suggest that music making was happening only in the choir and the Henry VII chapel. In an undated receipt from the reign of Henry VIII (WAMS 43,969; ii/371) John Howe was also paid for fitting doors at a cost of 20s, described as 'leves', to the organ case. At 20s for their hanging these must have been large doors covering the whole of the organ front. The cost of the doors (leves) is not mentioned; perhaps they were old but needed rehanging.

The re-establishment of a monastic community and the return of monks to Westminster was Queen Mary's main concern for the Abbey Church. This was achieved on 27 September 1556, three years after her accession (Carpenter 1972: 122). There were 12 singingmen

and 10 choristers during the Michaelmas quarter that year (WAMS 37,713 f.1r.&v.). William Howe was paid 4s 2p for mending the organ and 2s as organ keeper (WAMS 33,713 f.3r.; ii/369). Therefore the newly restored monastery had the musical resources of a good sized choir, an organ and an organ keeper. We can only assume that the Lady chapel choir returned to its pre-1540 function (Knighton 1997b: 5).

Elizabeth I

Howe received £1 6s 4d in 1558-9 for work on the organs in the Abbey, and for moving the organ from Henry VII's chapel to the choir (WAMS 47,616; ii/373). No reason for this is given. Was it a permanent move or only temporary for the coronation of Elizabeth I on 15 January 1559? The charge for tuning the organ in the Henry VII chapel was twice that of tuning the organ which stood 'over the choir' (WAMS 47,617; ii/373). This could imply that the choir organ was smaller than that in the Henry VII chapel. The liturgy being centralised in the choir could be the reason for moving the organ to there from the Henry VII chapel. John Howe appears in the Prebendary and Treasurer's accounts as 'Custo Organistae' for 1561-62 (WAMS 33,619; ii/361), and thereafter every year until 1570. He received 12s a year for his work up until 1568 when it increased to 13s. 1570 was the year before John Howe's death after which the Howe family fell from prominence in London (Owen & Williams 1988: 367). Henry Landforthe was paid 'for mendyng ye gretter organes at Westmynster' (WAMS 38,684; ii/370) on 10 December 1568 whilst Howe was still tuning the organs at the Abbey. The work, some releathering, is his only recorded work at the Abbey.

In 1560 Elizabeth I restored Westminster as a collegiate church (Knighton 1997b: 6). The accession of Elizabeth in 1558 had seen the suppression of the Latin Rite and the loss of liturgical function in the alternatim music associated with it. This left the organ with a less well defined role in the daily services (Cox 1986b: iv). It is suggested that this brought its role playing voluntaries to the fore (Routh 1973: 57). Its daily use at Durham during Elizabeth I's reign is recorded in Ob MS Gough Durham 12:

> The third pair of Organs were called the White Organs, they were placed on ye South side of the Quire towards ye Vestry house, and were most, and indeed dayly,

used at ordinary service, in the times of Queen Elizabeth and K. James I. (cited: Fowler 1903: 162).

How the organ was used on a daily basis is not revealed here. It was located close enough to the choir to be part of the liturgy, though it could have been used mainly to play voluntaries. The role of the singers in the Elizabethan church is explained in Queen Elizabeth's 49th injunction (1559), without reference to the organ:

> Item, because in divers collegiate and some parish churches heretofore, there hath been livings appointed for the maintenance of men and children, to use singing in the church, by means whereof the laudable science of music hath been had in estimation and preserved in knowledge, the Queen's Majesty neither meaning in any wise the decay of anything that might conveniently tend to the use and continuance of the said science... willeth and commandeth that first, no alteration be made of such alignments of living.... And that there be a modest and distinct song so used in all parts of the common prayers in the church, that the same may be as plainly understanded as if it were read without singing. And yet nevertheless, for the comforting of such as delight in music, it may be permitted that in the beginning or in the end of common prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn, or suchlike song.... in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived (Bray 1994: 344-5).

This injunction, with its insistence on the understanding of all the words 'as if it were read', precludes alternatim performance with the organ replacing some of the sung text. For the sung service and hymns the clarity of the words is stressed. This leaves the organ with a role playing voluntaries, which did not replace any of the text in the liturgy, and at least permitted playing it while the choir sang, either as interludes or to accompany the voices.

At some time during Elizabeth's reign it became usual to accompany vocal polyphony on the organ. Peter Le Huray, writing of pre-Commonwealth church music, says 'organ accompaniments were obligatory when the music was in verse style' (LeHuray 1967: 115). Directions given to William Byrd at Lincoln in 1579 reveal the scope of the organ in the Liturgy there:

> That in future the organist of the said cathedral church will play the organ for the guidance of the choir in the following form only, that is to say, before the chanting of the hymn called Te Deum, and the song called the Song of Zechariah at morning prayers, also of the song of the Blessed Virgin Mary commonly called Magnificat and of the song commonly called Nunc Dimittis at evening prayers; likewise, at the singing of the anthem, playing the same at one with the choir (Watkins Shaw 1967: 57, citing Chapter Act, Lincoln, Michaelmas, 1579).

The meaning of the phrase 'for the guidance of the choir' is not self-evident, but read with the instruction that it is used 'before the hymn' it possibly implies that the organ set the

pitch and tempo in a prelude before the choir sang. The phrase 'playing the same at one with the choir' specifically says that the organ accompanied, an important reference to this practice. Another indication of the role of the organ survives at Hereford. Here the psalms were sung in plainsong, and 'the organs to be used betwine the psalmes or wth the psalmes and wth the Antheme or hymne. The dailie service all the rest of the wick shal be sayd and songe in plaine songe & used as it hathe byn heretofore' (Smith 1968: 113). This is from an agreement of 30 June 1581 between the Lord President, the Bishop of Hereford and the church and probably refers to Sundays and greater festivals when the Lord President was in attendance (Smith 1968: 113). Although how the organ was used is not clear, it is tempting to understand the phrase 'wth the psalmes and wth...' to mean that the organ played while the singers sang. In 1592 and again in 1610 two Dukes of Württemberg visited Westminster Abbey and remarked on the Choral Service:

> In this beautiful church the English Ministers who are dressed in white surplices such as the Papists wear, sang alternately and the organs played (Rye 1865: 10).

Although linking the words 'sang alternately' and 'organs played' could imply the use of the organ in alternation with the singers, this is unlikely. It could be explained as the choir singing antiphonally (from side to side), the organs being played either while this antiphonal singing went on or totally independently of the choir. These references show that the role of the organ in the daily worship after the Reformation is generally 'far from clear' (Morehen 1995: 40). A late-sixteenth century essay attributed to John Case, *The Praise of Music* (1586), suggested that the purpose was solely practical - to set the pitch for the singers and to provide a rest for their voices during verses played on the organ (Morehen 1995: 42). Absence of organ parts does not mean that the organ was not used with the singers. Parts were not needed if the composer played from the score at the organ. For example, in the seventeenth century the consort music of organist-composers does not always have organ parts when we know the organ was used. There is a pattern here of organist-composers not writing out organ parts when they were playing themselves (Holman 1996a: 368). The first written-out organ parts to survive are from around 1570 and are for Farrant's verse anthem 'When as we sat in Babylon' (LeHuray 1967: 221).

Evidence for solo organ music in the services starts to appear in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century. The Chapel Royal Cheque Book affords evidence of this, for example, on Easter day 1593 'Dr. Bull was at the organ playing the Offertorye' (Rimbault 1966: 150), and he also played to cover movement of the King around the chapel (Rimbault 1966: 153, 167). Writing of the Exeter composer Edward Gibbons' verse anthem 'How hath the city sat solitary' (1611), Thomas Tudway refers to 'A Prelude upon ye Organ as was then usuall [sic] before ye Anthem' (Morehen 1995: 44). In 1616 the organ was played between the psalms and the first lesson at Chichester (Cox 1986b). A prelude after the psalm was performed at Westminster Abbey after the Restoration (see chapter 4), and this was almost certainly continuing an earlier tradition.

The pitch of the organ and its relationship to the choir pitch

At least two, and sometimes three, organ pitches were in use in England before the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660 and for some time after it. In his *Spiegel der Orgelmacher und Organisten* (1511), Arnolt Schlick gave two standards of pitch for an organ, one F pitch and the other C pitch, a fourth higher (or fifth lower) (Kent 1998: 52). In 1619 Praetorius identified three pitches for organs. A high pitch of Medieval origin, a pitch for concerted music (CammerThon), which was his standard pitch, and organ pitch (ChorThon) (Kent 1998: 52). Organ pitch was a third lower than his standard pitch and a fourth lower than choir pitch. This gave rise to a double standard of pitch in the seventeenth century, with the choir pitch and organ being a fifth apart (Caldwell 1970: 156). For example, Thomas Dallam built an organ for Worcester Cathedral in 1613-14 where the 10' diapason played from the C key sounded FF at choir pitch or C at organ pitch (Gwynn 1985: 67). This double pitch standard sometimes made it necessary for organists to transpose accompaniments. A few transposed parts survive written out in organ books and Morley's Te Deum (Och MS 1001) has a reminder to the organist to play the part as written rather than transposing it (LeHuray 1967: 115). This system survived in some English organs until after the Restoration (Bicknell 1985b: 79). Sadly, organ books early enough to provide evidence for this practice do not survive at Westminster Abbey. This dual pitch standard also produced the transposing organ, which was used for choral accompaniment.

For organ pitch the lowest pipe of the principal was 5 foot - 6-7 semitones above modern pitch, and 5-6 semitones above choir pitch.

Post-Reformation Organists

At the start of the seventeenth century London was the centre of musical life in England, and this was especially true in the field of sacred music (Monson 1989: 304). The Elizabethan Chapel Royal was a 'surprisingly stable institution' (Monson 1989: 305), providing a secure source of employment for church musicians in the capital - from which the music of Westminster Abbey benefited. In 1620 John Williams was appointed Dean of Westminster. His value to the music of the Abbey was enormous, and under his rule it attained a high standard:

> ...that God might be praised with a cheerful noise in his Sanctuary, he procured the sweetest music both for the Organ, and for the Voices of all Parts, that ever was heard in an English Quire. In those days that Abby and the Jerusalem-Chamber where he gave Entertainment to his friends were the Volaries [lit. cage, aviary] of the choicest Singers that the land had bred (Hacket 1693: 46).

Therefore the years before the Commonwealth were an encouraging time for music at the Abbey. However, the financial state of the choirmen during this time may not have been terribly good, and the Chapter minutes record the gift of £5 to the 'poore Singingmen of the Churche' from Mary Ferrand on 22 December 1632 (Chapter Book II, f.52v.; ii/293).

The first of the post-Reformation organists, Robert White (c1538-1574), commenced his duties as organist and master of the choristers at Westminster shortly before Christmas 1569. He was from Trinity College, Cambridge, whence he became master of the choristers at Ely Cathedral. His compositions include sacred vocal music, about half of them being settings of Latin psalms, and instrumental music for consort playing. Two keyboard compositions, 'Ut re mi fa sol la' for keyboard and an In Nomine in the Mulliner Book are attributed to him (*Grove 6*, 20/384).

On 3 December 1588 Edmund Hooper (1553-1621) was appointed organist and master of the choristers of Westminster Abbey. His lease, or contract of employment, is preserved in Lease Book VII, f.255b (ii/314). It mentions the good and faithful service Hooper had

'hereforto done' for the Dean and Chapter; for example, in 1586 he was paid for music for Westminster College (WAMS 40,079). He was paid £14 a year as organist, and given the tenement in the Almonry at Westminster, which was 'usually held and enjoyed' by the organist and master of the choristers. He was allowed a further 40s from the dividends of the Dean and Chapter. As the master of the choristers Hooper was allowed a further £33 6s 8p annually and a bushel of 'seasonable wheat' weekly for the 'teaching and ffynding of the choristers'. His teaching duties included bringing up the choristers in the knowledge of grammar and the science of music that they may be more fit for the service of the church (Lease Book X ff.270-271; ii/315). If the Dean and Chapter defaulted on payment the shortfall could be collected in kind from their estates, and the organist could lawfully impound the difference. The inclusion of the phrase 'drive and carry away' paints a picture of his driving cattle out of these estates until his salary was paid. Hooper was allowed to perform his duties in person or by supplying a deputy.

Hooper was responsible for the care of viols, and had used his own 'wind instrument' in the Abbey on so many occasions that he had to pay someone to help him carry it and to repair damage sustained by its being carried about (WAMS 47,620; ii/374). This wind instrument is not identified. It was presumably a suitable portable instrument for use close to the choir, maybe a regal. Although the use of viols in church was not welcomed by ecclesiastics (Monson 1982: 2), some anthems exist with accompaniments for either viols or organ and could therefore be performed in sacred or secular settings (Monson 1989: 313). Consort anthems could become verse anthems with the viol parts rescored for organ. The viols were borrowed for use at the school on election day and the Queen's Majesties day, since those owned by the Abbey were only fit for the children to practice on. The only event Hooper identifies with the viols is at the school, a secular location, whereas for the church he mentions his wind instrument.

On 19 May 1606 Hooper's status changes and he was granted a patent 'as organist of ye church', with a fee of £16 (Chapter Book I, f.287r.; ii/293). In this patent Hooper relinquished the payments received in respect of the choristers, while retaining the post of organist on the same terms. This change in status is an important early use of the title

'organist' alone. Did it reflect Hooper's interests or a larger and wealthier musical establishment? Hooper's patent as organist was renewed on 17 May, 1610 (Lease Book X ff.270-271; ii/315).

In 1615 Hooper became one of the organists of the Chapel Royal, along with Orlando Gibbons. Further letters patent of 17 December 1616 repeat the existing terms of Hooper's appointment as organist. More details are included about his tenement in the Almonry, and these mention that John Parsons, the master of the choristers, lived in a property adjoining Hooper on the north. This is further evidence of the distinct posts, one of organist and the other master of the choristers. Hooper's payment was improved in 1616 by including 'dividends' (Chapter Book II f.18v, 16 December 1616; ii/293 and WAMS 9,835, 17 December 1616, Grant of offer of organist; ii/352). The dividends were a share in the income which the Dean and Chapter enjoyed from their lands.

As we shall see, a reduction in the number of organs in the Abbey took place during Hooper's time. A focus of organ playing on one instrument may in turn reflect the performance of the liturgy in one place, the choir, and no longer in a range of chapels.

John Parsons (c1575-1623), already master of the choristers, was appointed organist on 16 December 1621, after serving at St. Margaret's, Westminster for 5 years. He was paid £16 a year, and 'for teaching and finding the children thirty six pounds, thirteen shillings & four pence' (Chapter Book II, f.30v., 7 December 1621; ii/293 and WAMS 9,837, Grant of office of organist and master of the choristers, 7 Dec. 1621, draft copy; ii/354). The grant of office acknowledges Parsons' previous service to the Dean and Chapter as master of the choristers. His annuity of £36 16s 4d for teaching and finding the choristers represented a substantial addition to his £16 as organist, and was supplemented by one bushel and a half of wheat weekly. A few pieces of sacred vocal music are his only surviving compositions, but an epitaph to 'Master Parsons, Organist of Westminster' pays tribute to his skill as an organist:

> Death passing by and hearing Parsons play,
> Stood much amazed at his depth of skill,
> And said, this Artist must with me away

(For Death bereaves us of the better skill),
But let the Quire, while he keeps time, sing on,
For Parsons rests, his service being done (Camden 1674: 549).

Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625) succeeded Parsons and was organist of the Abbey from 1623 to 1625. He had joined the Chapel Royal in 1603, and was one of its organists by 1615, becoming senior organist the year of his appointment at the Abbey. An unusually high proportion of his complete verse anthems have written-out organ accompaniments (in Och 21, a mid-seventeenth century scorebook, once owned by Benjamin Rogers) although all Gibbons' organ works that can be dated are from before his appointment at the Abbey (c.f. Steele 1958: 219). Gibbons was highly regarded as a performer, and was described as 'the best Finger of that Age' (Hacket 1693: 210).

Richard Portman (d. c1655) was appointed as organist in 1625, and remained until the Commonwealth. Portman's compositions are almost exclusively services and anthems; however, a verse for double organ is extant in Wimborne Minster Library (Cox 1986b: 34-35). Although the date of this composition is not known it does tell us that he had experience of playing a double organ, although this is not conclusive evidence for one in the Abbey (but see below p. 35). Portman appears to have enjoyed good relations with Dean Williams and travelled to France with him (Cox 1986b: v). He would have been well placed to influence the Dean over the design of the new organ at the Abbey which was built by John Burwood c.1632.

The Sixteenth-Century Organ

Was there a new Abbey organ in 1596? In that year the organ builder John Chappington was paid £13 13s 4p by St. Margaret's Westminster for 'the organs of the Colledge':

> Paid to Mr. Chappington for the organs of the Colledge, xiij[lb] xiijs iiijd and the old organs do remayne in the parish church to be sold by the churchwardens (Hopkins & Rimbault 1855: 50, citing Churchwardens' accounts of St. Margaret's)

This suggests that Chappington sold St. Margaret's an organ from the Abbey for use in the church there. This could mean that Chappington had built a new organ for the Abbey and received the old one in part payment, which he sold on to St. Margaret's, or simply that he

moved one of several organs in the Abbey to St. Margaret's without building a new instrument in its place. This is more probable, as the references to multiple organs in receipts at the Abbey are now less frequent, and the reformation church focused its liturgical activity on the choir. George Pendelton, organ mender, carried out repairs to the pipes, bellows and case of the organ for the sum of £2 12s 2p in 1605, the first year his name appears (WAMS 47,627; ii/374).

Thomas Dallam (c.1575-after 1629)

The earliest reference to Thomas Dallam at the Abbey is from April 1607, when he was paid 20s for 'mending and tuninge the organs' (WAMS 33,239 f.2r.; ii/361), the same sum was paid in July 1607 (WAMS 33,239 f.47r.; ii/361). In June 1607 there is a reference to an organ recently set up in the Henry VII chapel (WAMS 47,635; ii/375). No further details of this survive, except that the Dean undertook to reimburse the Receiver for the £16 spent on the instrument. Was this for a special event or for regular use? If it was used regularly it would imply some liturgical activity in this chapel. In 1608 Hooper paid Dallam for mending and tuning the organ (WAMS 41,266; ii/370) and in 1609 Dallam repaired the organ bellows (WAMS 41,327; ii/371).

The organ builder John Burwood worked for the Abbey, and a receipt from 1625 endorsed by him survives:

It for mettle to ... on .. the great pipe	v^s
It for making a mandrell for to cut it out	$ii^s vi^d$
It for sodr used in the same and other of / the pipes	ii^s
It for leather used about the belows	$xiii^d$
It for a pound of candle	v^d
It for my owne labor in tuning the orgaine / with my two men	10^s
Summ total	20^s vii^d [sic]

> Mr Ireland I know this bill to be very reasonable / for I have alreday cut him off ten shillings / therefore I pray despathe him for he hath / dealt honestly w[it]h ye church soe shall I / rest y[ou]r servant / Orlando Gibbons (WAMS 53,317; ii/395).

In December 1632 there is a reference to a new organ linked with £5, the gift of Mary Ferrand, which was spent on the new organ 'to guild a pipe, uppon the said organ, and her

name to be set upon it' (Chapter Book II, 22 December 1632, f.52v.; ii/293). This is the only evidence for any work on a new organ at this time, and the style of the organ built can only be inferred from other organs by Burwood. A contract for a new organ by him in Chirk Castle chapel survives at AB, Chirk Collection Group F, MS 5526, and a photograph and transcription of this document appear in Reynolds (1997) 49-51. In this contract of 29 February 1632 Burwood agrees to build an organ with:

> two setts of keyes and two sound boords and tenne stoppes all of good mettall pipes, namlie to the upper sett of keyes to be fitted, one stopt diapason, one open diapason from gamut upwards, one principall for the forefront paynted, and guilded workmanlike, and inwardlie a Recorder, a small principall a fifteenth and a two and twentieth: for the lower sett of keyes, three more of mettall, one diapason, a principall and a small principal, And that the said Organ shall have three bellowes and two sound boords Conveyances, Conduittes Ironworke and all ther thinges fitting for such an Organ well and workmanlike wrought and p[er]formed' (Reynolds 1997: 49).
>
> This can be sumarised:
>
> on the upper set of keyes
>
> stopt diapason
> open diapason from Gamut upwards
> principal
> Recorder
> small principall
> fifteenth
> two and twentieth
>
> on the lower sett of keyes
>
> diapason
> principall
> small principal (Reynolds 1997: 34)

The organ was to be twelve and a half feet high, nine feet in breadth and six and a half feet deep and would cost £30.

Did the Abbey have a new two-manual organ? Their organ builder was capable of building one, the Dean was musical and Portman composed for one. The term double organ to denote an instrument with two manuals seems to come from the first decade of the seventeenth century, and the earliest composition for double organ was written some time before 1620 (Steele 1958: 152). Was there a two manual pre-Commonwealth instrument? Thomas Dallam built double organs at Worcester and at King's College, Cambridge, in the early-seventeenth century (Routh 1973: 133), a practice becoming more usual by this date. He could have introduced the desire for a double organ at Westminster, even if he did not

bring it into being. Burwood's organ was built above the stalls at the north of the choir and was in the Abbey at the start of the Commonwealth and still there during the Restoration.

Conclusions

The 600 years from the building of the Abbey church until the Commonwealth saw a great deal of organ building activity, of which very little detail survives. The role of the organ determined its location and size, with various organs provided for varying purposes. The link between the Abbey church and the state was influential on the liturgical and hence musical life of the Abbey. In this period we see the organ move from being a noise-making to a musical instrument. The organ in the tenth century was used to signal the major feasts of the church year, audible outside in the same way as bells. In the centuries following it took on a more defined musical role in tandem with the development of organ building technology, making available greater control of the sound by keys and stops. The organ was placed close to the centres of liturgical activity before the Reformation and used in alternation with the singers, at times replacing parts of the sung text with solo organ music.

The role of the state is emphasised in the mid-sixteenth century when the monastic choir was disbanded and the Abbey became a cathedral, was subsequently turned back into a monastery by Queen Mary and made a collegiate church by Elizabeth I. This changed the use of the Abbey and its organs. The offering of Masses at different locations in the building - the Jesus chapel and lady chapel and choir - was discontinued with the final disestablishment of the monastery. The liturgy of the Protestant Elizabethan prayer book established the choir as the centre of liturgy and the location for an organ. After the reformation organ playing no longer replaced any of the text in the liturgy, and developed a role playing voluntaries and in some way accompanying the choir while they sang.

It is likely that a double organ was built by Burwood around 1632. This came after a period of stability, when the choir had been the location of the services of the church for over fifty years. Although no direct evidence survives for a double organ, the organ builder responsible had already built one elsewhere, and other cathedral churches in England were starting to acquire them. At the start of the English Civil War Westminster Abbey had a fairly new organ, almost certainly with two manuals, a long-established choir, and had enjoyed the tenure of notable musicians, especially Orlando Gibbons as organist and Edmund Hooper as organist and choirmaster.

3

The Restoration Organ 1660-1727

The period from 1642, the start of the English Civil War, until 1660, the end of the Commonwealth and the restoration of the monarchy, was a time when organs in churches were certainly not used and were sometimes destroyed. Even before this date the Abbey organ was under threat, as recorded in a letter from Captain Robert Slingesberie to Sir John Pennington, 30 December 1641:

> The disorders of the 'prentices and the King's Guard.... The next day they ['prentices] assulted the Abbey [of Westminster] to pull down the organs and alter, but it was defended by the Archbishop of York and his servants, with some other gentlemen who came to them; divers of the citizens were hurt but none killed.... A company of soldiers is put in the Abbey for the defence of it (Bruce 1859: 486).

On 9 May 1644 an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons made the use of organs in worship illegal:

> ... And that all Organs, and the Frames or Cases wherein they stand in all churches or Chappels aforesaid, shall be taken away, and utterly defaced, and none other hereafter set up in their places (Firth & Rait 1911: 1/265).

This command to break up organs was taken up enthusiastically by the Parliamentarian troops around the country, and at various cathedrals and other places organs were broken up or rendered voiceless; accounts of this behaviour survive at Salisbury, Durham, Rochester and Exeter (Bicknell 1996: 90). The Chapel Royal organ was sold to Magdalene College, Oxford (Baldwin 1990: 102) as a way of escaping destruction.

How did the Westminster Abbey organ fare during this time? In 1644 payment was made 'for taking down part of the organ loft' (Perkins 1937: 10); could this have been dismantling the stairs to the organ, thus making it harder for the rioters to spoil the instrument? The extent of the damage done to the organ during the Commonwealth is not known. It has been claimed that it was broken down during the Commonwealth, the most often cited reference to its spoliation being in *Mercurius Rusticus* of March 16 1643:

> ... for in *July* last, 1643, some Souldiers of *Weshborne*, and *Cacwoods* Companies (perhaps because there were no houses in *Westminster*) were quartered in the *Abbey Church*, where (as the rest of our Moderne Reformers) they brake down the Raile about the Altar, and burnt it in the place where it stood; They brake downe the Organ, and pawned the pipes at severall Ale-houses for pots of Ale (Ryves 1971: 296).

How accurate is this account? The *Mercurius Rusticus* is a 'highly prejudiced Anglican and Royalist source' (Scholes 1934: 231). A comment made by Porter about exaggeration in reports of fires can be applied in this case:

> Not only was there a propagandist value in stressing the destruction caused by the other side, but there was also a tendency for the first reports of an incident to exaggerate the scale of destruction (Porter 1994: 65).

Scholes also has a comment to make on the reliability of Ryves, the author of *Mercurius Rusticus*, as a reporter of the activities of the Royalists:

> ... we should take a small pinch of salt with any story that Ryves tells us about the Puritans, as, although it is doubtless correct as to its main fabric, it has probably nevertheless some small decorative trimmings of a Cavalier colour (Scholes 1934: 232).

The descriptions of the services in the Abbey during the Commonwealth also suggest that all was not disorder but that a different order to the old one was established instead. A celebration of the Puritan preaching which displaced singing at the Abbey in 1643 was written by John Vicars:

> About the 26th of this instant *March*, [1643]... [a] most rare and strange alteration in the face of things in the *Cathedrall Church at Westminster*. Namely, that whereas there was wont to be heard, nothing almost but *Roaring-Boyes*, tooting and squeaking *Organ-Pipes* and the *Cathedrall Catches* of *Morley*, and I know not what trash; now the *Popish-Altar* is quite taken away, the *bellowing Organs* are demolish'd and pull'd down, the *treble* or rather, *trouble* and base Singers, Chanters or inchanters driven out; and instead thereof, there is now set up a most blessed Orthodox Preaching Ministry (Vicars 1646: 184-5).

Again, here is a Parliamentarian making political capital out of a claim that the organ was destroyed. Unlike the writer in *Mercurius Rusticus* he seems pleased that it was destroyed and less concerned about who had destroyed it. However, the establishment of a regular preaching ministry at the Abbey presupposes a certain amount of order to allow safe access to the building for the congregation. Thomas Cocke in his history of the Abbey comments that during the Commonwealth:

> apart from a few isolated instances of iconoclasm, there was no wholesale destruction of either images or monuments (Cocke 1995: 33).

The speed with which the organ was made playable again at the end of the Commonwealth also indicates that it was not extensively damaged. After the restoration of the monarchy in

1660 the Abbey began to use the organ in its services remarkably soon. In his 'Mercurius Politicus Redivivus' the chronicler T. Rugge wrote in November 1660:

> Organs sett up in Westminster Abby and the way of worship as was in King James days w[it]h Bishops and Curates est[ablished]: (Lbl Add. MS 10,116 f.134r.)

Rugg died in old age in 1672 and was old enough to remember the organ from before the Commonwealth and the old order which was being re-established. Samuel Pepys (b. 1633), who was younger than Rugge, heard the organ for the first time in the Abbey on Sunday 4 November 1660:

> After dinner to Westminster, where I went to my Lord; and having spoke with him, I went to the abby, where the first time that ever I heard the organs in a Cathedrall (Pepys 1970: 283).

And again on Sunday 30 December 1660 he wrote:

> I to the abby and walked there, seeing the great confusion of people that came there to hear the organs (Pepys 1970: 324).

Taken together, these quotations suggest that the damage done to the organ by the Royalist soldiers was not its wholesale destruction. The organ was in a gallery with only its case pipes visible from the church. Damaging the pipes of the organ that were visible from the ground would make it appear to be destroyed, though leaving the soundboards and actions intact. Therefore the organ builder at the Abbey in 1660 was most likely to have rebuilt an existing instrument rather than have built a totally new organ. Dominic Gwynn comments that the time from the Restoration in May 1660 to November 1660 'would have been long enough for a complete restoration, but not for a new organ....' (Gwynn 1995: 550).

The role of the organ was described soon after the Restoration. In the Chapter minutes for 18 December 1660 there are instructions for the behaviour of the organist and blower during divine service (they could have been in the organ loft before the service):

> It was ordered that the Backe doore of the organ loft bee shutt upp and that the organist Come into the quire att the beginning of prayers in his surplis and betake himselfe to his stall till towards the end of the Psalms (except on festival days when the Responds are to bee performed with the organ [)] and then to goe up the stayers leading from the quire to the organ and performe his duty And tis further ordered that neither the organist nor any other p[er]mit any p[er]son to bee in the organ loft during the time of Divine service And that the organist and the blower keepe themselves private and not expose themselves to the view of the people during their stay in the organ loft (Chapter Book III f.30r.; ii/294).

This implies that the organist's duties did not commence until after the psalms on most days (The responds were probably accompanied not sung alternation with the organ). It is one of

only a few surviving organist's directions from this time and follows the pattern given in Edward Lowe's *A Short Direction for the Performance of Cathedrall Service* (Oxford, 1661), and James Clifford's *The Divine Services and Anthems...* (London, 1663) (Wilson 1996: 30). Edward Lowe was writing about the practice in the Chapel Royal and the collegiate chapels and Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, and Clifford about that of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. The similarity of approach at three London choral establishments may reflect close links between them caused by singers and musicians working at more than one of these establishments. The directions given by Clifford for St. Paul's on Sundays and holy days are:

Morning
Matins - First Service
After the psalms a voluntary upon the organ
sung Te Deum and Benedictus
first anthem after third collect
Litany after the first anthem
After the Blessing a voluntary upon the organ
Communion service - second service
After sermon the second anthem

Evening Service
After the psalms a voluntary alone by the organ
sung Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis
first anthem after third collect
After sermon the second anthem

The Litany was sung on Sunday, Wednesday and Friday (Wilson 1996: 31), and when there was no communion or sermon there was no second anthem (cf. Lowe 1661). There is no reference to a voluntary before the start of the service, or to the use of the organ in the psalms. In *An Introduction to the Skill of Music*, Playford gives instructions for finding a convenient pitch to sing a psalm without an organ to set one (Playford 1674: 71), perhaps reflecting in part this tradition, as well as being helpful to musicians in churches and chapels with no organ. Perhaps the lack of an organ accompaniment to the psalm gave rise to the need for the special injunction to the organist to be present at the start of prayers although he was not required to play until part way through the service.

The role of the organ in cathedral music for sixty or so years after the Restoration is discussed by Ian Spink in his *Restoration Cathedral Music*. From this we find that the organ was the chief accompaniment for choral music in church during this period. The organ part was usually the top and bottom lines of the full score with some additional

figuring (Spink 1995: 64). Watkins Shaw agrees with this and suggests that such parts were often constructed by the organists themselves (Watkins Shaw 1988: 7-8). This is seen in the surviving organ part books from Westminster Abbey (discussed below in chapter 4). They are written on two staves with bass and treble parts with figuring. The earliest organ book with this layout is from c. 1712; earlier books are now lost.

Detailed indications of how the organists accompanied pieces are rare (Spink 1995: 64). For anthems with strings and organ continuo 'Contemporary organ parts contain no indications of registration; but since most of them bear no dynamic markings either, it seems likely that organists habitually confined themselves to discreet 8' tone, adding perhaps a little upper work in passages for full choir but generally leaving dynamic contrasts to the voices and instruments' (Wood 1993: xxx). The only keyboard instrument in the secular odes performed after the Restoration at the Oxford degree ceremonies is the organ, almost certainly with the theorbo (Holman 1996b: 19). The use of an organ can be assumed in solo passages of verse anthems.

At some time during 1660 and 1661 a payment of £120 for the organ is recorded in an account of 'Extraordinary Disbursements since the Restoration of ye Dean and Chapter of West[minste]r to Michaelmas 1662' (WAMS 44,030A; ii/371 also in 44,024; ii/371). We have no record showing to whom this money was paid or how much work was done for it. Many writers attribute the organ that was in the Abbey at the Restoration to Bernard Smith, using the fact that Pepys heard it in November 1660 as proof of Smith having started work in England again by then (e.g. Rimbault 1866: 181). However, there is no positive evidence for the association of Smith with the Abbey at this time.

No specification of the Restoration Organ survives. However, Rimbault provides us with what he claims is its specification, which he calls 'Smith's Organ' of 1660:

1. Open Diapason	pipes 42
2. Stopped Diapason	42
3. Principal	42
4. Nason	42
5. Twelfth	42
6. Fifteenth	42
7. Sesquialtera, iv ranks	168

Compass C (no C sharp) to c^3 in alt, 48 keys.
Shifting Movement (Rimbault 1866: 181)

No source is given for this specification and if it came from an earlier publication, that publication is now lost. Other details in Rimbault's 1866 article are not documented and are at times confused; it is of limited value. The stop-list itself would not be surprising for an organ of this date and is therefore reasonable, but having C and not GG as the lowest note is. English organs of this period had GG for their lowest note, and this until well into the nineteenth century. The Sesquialtera runs through the whole compass, although it was usually a solo stop for the lower part of the compass. Possibly Rimbault saw an instrument which had been modified that he thought had been in the Abbey .

The the closest we can get to suggesting a builder responsible for restoring the Abbey organ in 1660 is a reference from 1662 to George Dallam, who is in fact the first organ builder mentioned in the Treasurer's accounts, and who was paid £3 10s in that year for tuning the organs (WAMS 33,696 f.5r.; ii/361). Dallam was connected with the Abbey until 1665, when the tuning was taken over by Bernard Smith. Between 1675 and 1678 Henry Purcell was paid for tuning the organs (WAMS 33,709 f.5r.-33,713 f.5r.; ii/362), after which time Bernard Smith resumed the task (WAMS 33,714 f.5r.; ii/362).

One curious reference to organ repairs occurs in 1674 that reminds us of the link between the Abbey and state occasions. In this year Smith was paid £1 10s for:

> mending the keyes bellowes and Rowling board of the organs att ye interment of the Dutchess of newcastle (WAMS 33,708 f.5r.; ii/362).

This document is slightly ambiguous for it is not completely clear how the two events were related. Did the organ sustain some damage at the interment or, more likely, was the organ in need of some repairs which were done to put it into good order for an important event? The sum of money involved suggests that the works were not extensive.

In 1694 the organ maker Bernard Smith is mentioned in the Chapter Books in connection with major work to the organ:

> Ordered that an Agreem[en]t be made... with Mr Bernard organ maker for the ammendinge alteringe & new making of the organ... & that the Said Mr Smyth shall have the Sume of 200lb for the performance thereof to be paid as shall be agreed (Chapter Book V f.47v.; ii/294).

Details of Smith's work in 1694 are recorded. He undertook to supply new keys, action parts and pipework and to enlarge the case:

> New make the present organ belonginge to the Dean and Chapter of Westm[inste]r exceptinge the pipes & case & add thereto a double sett of keys & 4 new stops, vizt one Principal of mettle, one Stop Diapason of Wood, one nason of wood. & one fifteenth of mettle w[hi]ch are to be added to the present organ by enlarging the case backwards (WAMS 9,834; ii/352).

This agreement states that it would all be newly made except the old pipes and the case. Although Smith added a double set of keys, this need not imply that the organ had only one manual before 1694. However, the mention of the new double set of keys together with the four new stops and the enlargement of the case make the addition of a new four-stop Chair organ seem most likely although the agreement does not make clear if the new stops were all for one manual. An explanation for the new division proposed by Gwynn is that the Chair organ may have been new so that a note played at the keyboard sounded the written note, altering a pre-Commonwealth transposing organ to one with both manuals at the same pitch (Gwynn 1985: 71). This is consistent with the case made in the previous chapter for a double organ in the Abbey before the Commonwealth. A further possibility will be explored below (see p. 52-53).

A receipt for £39 19s 0p for works to the organ by the joiner John Heisenbuttell dated 15 October 1700 presents some unanswered questions. The bill is titled:

> The Bill for ye sashes Frames / Waites Lines and pulleys and ye best / Crown Glass to ye Organe in ye Collegiat / Church of St. Peters Westminster / Done by Mr Heisenbuttell (WAMS 47,680; ii/377).

and includes case moulding, an impost, large sashes, lead weights, a trunk of deal, lines and pulleys, and 66 squares of 'best crown glass' 18 1/2 inches by 14 1/2. The casework materials are consistent with Smith's work in 1694, extending the case for the new stops, but why the bill six years later? The other items, except for the glass, could be accounted for by the provision of new bellows. What is the glass for? It is identified along with other items as being for the organ. Were the bellows enclosed behind glass panels to keep in the noise of their operation? Was glazing used to keep the instrument clean? Alternatively this

could be a bill for a new case with new sash-windows as on the east front at St. Paul's Cathedral (email to the author from Dominic Gwynn, 1 March 1999).

Between this receipt of 1700 and Shrider's work in 1710 (see below) the only record we have of the organ at the Abbey is in the Treasurer's accounts. The last payment to Bernard Smith for tuning the Abbey organ was in 1709 (WAMS 33,732-33,741; ii/362). This payment would have been to Smith's executors for work done by him in 1708. After Bernard Smith died in 1708 his work was continued by his son-in-law Christopher Shrider (Owen & Williams 1988: 387), and Shrider was paid as organ tuner at the Abbey from 1709.

Repairs, Shrider 1710

In May 1710 Christopher Shrider submitted a proposal for repairs and alterations to the Abbey organ. His proposals (WAMS 47,688; ii/377, copied into Chapter Book V f.157v.; ii/294), can be summarised as follows:

- The organ to be taken down a 'half note' and several new pipes added to every stop;
- the soundboards and bellows to be repaired;
- new keys and the 'proper movements belonging to them' to be made;
- the stops to draw with wood instead of iron, with new rollers and iron work 'inside'.

Shrider concludes:

> The Whole Machine being so Very much out of order There must necessarily be a new organ for the Service unless the old one be speedily repaired.

Shrider undertook to perform this work for £70. For this sum the organ would be 'made as good as new and much better than it ever was yet'. The work was carried out and paid for by December 1710 (WAMS 47,693; ii/378). The organ was taken down a 'half note' to reduce it to the pitch of 'St Pauls, Her Majesties and all other Modern Organs' (WAMS 47,688; ii/377). The Chapel Royal organ had been lowered a semitone in 1676 (Cox 1983: 6). After the Restoration, organs were being built at 'quire pitch', between one and two semitones above modern pitch (Gwynn 1985: 66). This is the pitch which would have been familiar to Bernard Smith, and was presumably used by him in his new organ at

Westminster. The alteration in pitch by a semitone would therefore have taken it to this 'quire pitch' used at St. Paul's Cathedral.

In 1718, only eight years after Shrider had made the organ 'much better than it ever was yet', it was in need of repair again. In his proposal for works on the organ (WAMS 47,700; ii/379, copied into Chapter Book VI f .40r.; ii/295) Shrider explained that his annual allowance for tuning of 40s a year did not allow him to clean and repair the organ adequately to keep it in good order. From this proposal of 1718 we learn that:

> [the] Said organ being now much out of order and severall of ye stops wants mending.... Therefore I Christopher Shrider do hereby propose; That if ye Dean and Chapter will please to allow ten pounds for Mending and cleaning, and for pulling ye Said organ into good order... and then fix a Salary of five pound p[er] anum, I will ... keep ye Organ in order Without any further Charge to ye Dean and Chapter for ten years, and for as many years afterwards as it is possible for any workman to keep it in order; the greater part of ye Organ being very old.

This proposal was accepted by William Croft, who found that it was true and that the proposals were very reasonable. Shrider signed a receipt for the £10 for this extra work in 1718 (WAMS 47,700; ii/379). The generally generous support given to the organ at this time seems to have been afforded the singers also. Thomas Tudway made particular mention of this in the preface to the sixth volume of music he collected for the library of Harley:

> where there is encouragement, or a maintenance, as at... Westminster Abby &c, they abound in good voices, and the service is perform'd, wth ... decency & solemnity (Harl. 7342, f. 11v cited Hogwood 1983: 43-4).

From the extant records at the Abbey the few things we can say with confidence about the organ from 1660 until 1723 are:

- that it had at least 2 sets of keys;
- that the stops included a Principal, Stopped Diapason, Nason, and Fifteenth;
- that the organ consisted of 800 or 900 pipes;
- that the organ had its pitch lowered by a semitone and several new pipes were added in 1710.

This organ, which was still basically the pre-Commonwealth instrument, would have seemed decidedly old-fashioned by 1723, and there would have been many organs of a far

grander scale in nearby London churches. With only two manuals the organ would have seemed small, compared to the Smith organs at the Temple Church (1688) and St. Paul's Cathedral (1695), and the Harris instruments at St. Bride's Fleet Street (1696) and St. Dionis Backchurch (1724), which all had three. The St. Dionis organ also contained a swell organ, first seen in London in the Jordan organ at St. Magnus the Martyr of 1712.

Choral Repertoire

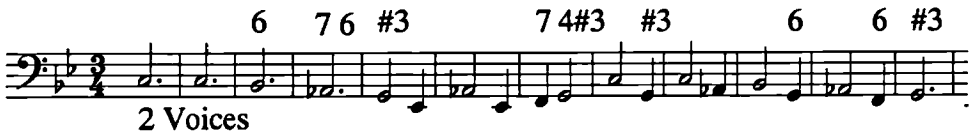
James Clifford's *Divine Services* (1663) contains the words and composers of 155 anthems usually sung in cathedral and collegiate choirs. The emphasis is on pre-Commonwealth composers with Adrian Batten with 33 anthems; William Byrd, 13; Thomas Tomkins, 11; Thomas Tallis, 10; Orlando Gibbons, 10; and Edmund Hooper, 9. The few Restoration composers who are included have only one or so anthems each. This emphasis was maintained in the second edition of *Divine Services* (1664). The pre-Commonwealth repertoire was strengthened at the Abbey by the purchase, in 1661, of John Barnard's *The First Book of Selected Church Music* (1641) (Spink 1995: 75-6). This book was important in establishing the idea of ancient music, and was the only collection of anthems all by dead composers published until the end of the eighteenth century (Weber 1992: 25). Tomkins *Musica Deo Scara* (1668), a posthumous collection of Thomas Tomkins' services, anthems, preces and psalms was a further source of the earlier repertoire. The re-establishment of this repertory was an important aspect of the return of the monarchy and the role of the church within the state (Weber 1992: 27).

Another source of music for the Abbey dating from the late-seventeenth century is the collection now known as the Triforium Music. These comprise sets of seventeenth- to nineteenth-century manuscript part books that were discovered around 1970 in the triforium of Westminster Abbey. The hands in these books were identified and dated by Margaret Laurie in 1972, and from this the dates of these books can be derived (see ii/486).

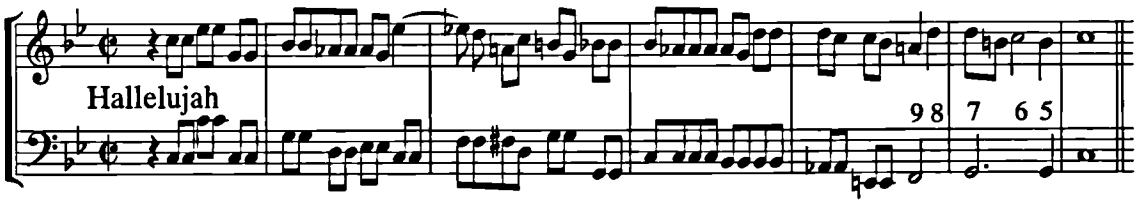
Set 1 of the Triforium Music, copied c. 1677-83, is the least complete of the sets to survive, with only the countertenor cantoris 1A and tenor cantoris 4 extant. The music in these volumes is by the contemporary composers Aldrich, Blow, Child, Creyghton,

Humphreys, Purcell, Tucker and Turner and by the pre-Commonwealth composers Batten, Byrd, Farrant, Orlando Gibbons, Henry Lawes and Tomkins (see ii/487). Music by Ayrton, Clark, Croft and Greene in this set shows that new pieces were copied into it over an extended period of time after it was first written. The repertoire in the Triforium Music is in sharp contrast with the anthems in *Divine Services...* and is evidence of the considerable amount of work being done by Restoration composers. In the Triforium Music, set 1, John Blow has the most pieces with 12 anthems and 7 services, Tucker 11 anthems and 2 services, Humphreys has 10 anthems and 1 service and Purcell 6 anthems and 2 services. There are far more anthems and services by Restoration composers than there are by Reformation ones. This would be in line with the practice of the Chapel Royal where many of the choir members were shared with the Abbey and where light and airy music was required by the new king. If the earlier repertoire came back into use at the Restoration it may have been performed from Barnard's *Selection* and not recopied into the part books.

The earliest organ book to survive is from Triforium Music Set 3; its first pages were copied around 1712. The following examples are from Henry Purcell's verse anthem 'Thy way, O God'. The verse section has a figured bass on one stave only, Example 1. For the final chorus the upper and lower voices are given on two staves, with a figured bass (Example 2), a texture typical of the anthems in the Triforium Music set 3 organ book.



Ex. 1 'Thy way, O God', opening, Triforium Music, Set 3 Organ Book, p. 1.



Ex. 2 'Thy way, O God', final chorus, Triforium Music, Set 3 Organ Book, p. 1.

Organ Music for the Abbey 1660-1727

Rationale - Using the music to discover the organ

There is no authoritative source for the specification of the organ in the Abbey at the Restoration. One way we can attempt to discover it is by examining the music written by organists who held posts at the Abbey. This approach reverses the usual practice of using an extant specification of an organ to guide us in the performance of a piece of music written for that instrument or by a composer associated with it.

For the Abbey organ this process can only be speculative as few autograph scores of organ music by Westminster Abbey composers exist and we cannot be sure that they wrote particular pieces during their tenure at the Abbey. One possible surviving autograph may be Christopher Gibbons' 'Verse in F' (Cox 1989: 2/81), but the main sources of this music are seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manuscript copies. We can be fairly confident in using these to establish the compass of the instrument, though they contain very little information about registration and hence the specification of the organ. The amount of written-down organ music from the organists at the Abbey at this time is small in comparison with their output as composers. This is probably accounted for by Speller's comments on the voluntaries used in the liturgy that 'except in the case of "beginning organists" who had not yet mastered the art of extempore playing, these voluntaries were almost always improvised' (Speller 1996: 64). This is emphasised by Roger North in 'The Excellent Art of Voluntary' which assumes that a voluntary will be improvised, possibly drawing on the music of others (Wilson 1959: 141-2). There is also the possibility that the pieces written down were for other instruments, or adapted by copyists for a particular instrument. It is most likely that the written-down music was used for teaching, but this might not have taken place in the Abbey.

Modern editions of this music tend to print the specification of other organs associated with the organ builder Bernard Smith to illustrate what the Abbey organ may have been like. For example, the McLean edition of the Purcell organ music cites Smith's specification for Christ Church, Oxford, of 1680 (Purcell 1967: ii) and Cooper's edition of Blow's voluntaries gives specifications for the organs at Adlington Hall and at the Banqueting

House, Whitehall (Blow 1996: xxiii). Since the only record of the contribution made by Smith to the Abbey organ is a reference to four new stops added in 1694 (see p. 44), comparison with other instruments by Smith may not be a reliable guide to the its disposition.

It is therefore necessary to explore other avenues to arrive at a specification for the Abbey organ between the Restoration and 1727. The written sources do not in themselves give a complete picture of the post-Restoration instrument, and likewise the organ music composed by the Abbey organists of this time does not give a complete account of it. Taken together, however, they give consistent results from which it is possible to derive some reasonable conclusions.

Music written by Abbey Organists, 1660-1727.

During the period 1660-1727 the organists of Westminster Abbey were:

Christopher Gibbons	1660-1666
Albertus Bryne	1666-1668
John Blow	1669-1679
Henry Purcell	1679-1695
John Blow	1695-1708
William Croft	1708-1727 (Carpenter 1972: 424)

These organists all held other positions whilst they were in post at the Abbey:

Christopher Gibbons	1660-[1676]	The Chapel Royal
	1660-?	Private organist to the King (Cox 1989: 1/49)
Albertus Bryan	1638-c.1671	St. Paul's Cathedral (Dawe 1983: 84)
John Blow	1676-1708	The Chapel Royal
Henry Purcell	1682-1695	The Chapel Royal (Cox 1989: 1/56)
William Croft	1700-1711	St. Anne's Soho (Croft 1982: i)
	1708-1727	The Chapel Royal (Carpenter 1972: 424)

Since these organists held more than one post concurrently we must be cautious in drawing conclusions about the Abbey organ from their music. Albertus Bryan held his post at St. Paul's Cathedral until his death, though the building was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666 (Cox 1989: 1/56). Surviving works for organ by Abbey organists fall primarily into two genres: verses and voluntaries. The double voluntary was a common seventeenth-

century organ genre (Cooper 1992: 362), where the hands play on different manuals simultaneously, and where the interest lies in the contrast between the two types of texture, solo and echo. The two manuals were always the Great and the Chair (Routh 1973: 148).

The manuscript sources of this music contain only a few registration indications. This lack of precise registration was common, both among composers contemporary with Blow and later in the eighteenth century (Speller 1996: 73). Table 3.1 (p. 56) summarises the information about compass and registration of music written by Abbey organists from the Restoration until 1723. An important source of information about registration is music by Christopher Gibbons, John Blow and Henry Purcell in Lbl Add. MS 34,695 and a discussion of this manuscript will preface the discussion of the organ by organist and composer. Add. MS 34,695 is an early eighteenth-century volume of keyboard music, mainly from the Restoration period (Cox 1989: 1/498) copied by Nicholas Harrison (Purcell 1967: np). It contains 34 pieces for organ of which seven have registration indications, though only four of them are by composers from the Abbey. These are: Purcell's 'Voluntary for Double Organ' Z719 and the 'Voluntary on the Old 100th' Z721 attributed to him, Christopher Gibbons' 'Verse in d for Double Organ' and Blow's 'Cornet Voluntary [in d]'. The registration indications are all for Trumpet, Cornet and Sesquialtera stops. Since the registration indications in Lbl 34,695 are for such a small proportion of its contents, it is more likely that the copyist took them from the source he was copying, rather than adding them himself. Christopher Gibbon's 'Verse in d for Double Organ' in Lbl Add. MS 34,695 has references to the Sesquialtera and Cornet and one of only three references to a Trumpet stop in the music by the Restoration composers at the Abbey. Caldwell's edition includes the ending in Lbl Add. MS 34,695 and the registration directions absent from the Cox edition. If these registration indications are for the same organ as those for Purcell's 'Voluntary on the Old 100th' it would be necessary for the organ to have two manuals, as the Gibbons verse requires a Sesquialtera up to d^1. This supports the view that a musically satisfactory performance of Purcell's 'Voluntary on the Old 100th' requires a two-manual organ to avoid awkward stop changes. The Sesquialtera is used in the bass to complement treble Cornet solos

Christopher Gibbons' 'Verse in F' is preserved in Och MS 1142(A), which is possibly an autograph manuscript and bears a signature similar to one written by Gibbons in 1663 on a letter to the Dean of Worcester (Cox 1989: 1/81). The piece only requires a one-manual organ and uses the range D,E,F-b^{b2}. The manuscript sources for Gibbons' organ music can all be dated after his time at the Abbey (c.f. Cox 1989: 1/509-513), which removes by a further step any bearing they may have on the Abbey organ.

Albertus Bryan's 'Ground in a minor to ye organ or harpsichord' and his untitled voluntary in a minor appear in Lbl Add. MS 34,695. Both of these pieces are for a one-manual organ and have no registration given. The lowest note is AA, the keynote of both pieces. The voluntary is followed by the initials A.B. and Barry Cooper has identified Albertus Bryne as the composer on stylistic grounds (Cooper 1972: 142).

As the summary in Table 3.1 (p. 56) shows, it appears that Blow was writing for a two-manual organ with a compass of GG,AA,C,D,E-c^3. Few of Blow's voluntaries specify a double organ, and only one stop is mentioned (Cooper 1992: 364). The only registration indications appearing in Blow's organ music are for the use of the Cornet stop. For instance, the 'Cornet Voluntary [in a]' (Blow 1996: 61-63) that is titled 'Vers for ye Cornett and single organ' in Lbl Egerton MS 2959 (f. 32r) contains an indication to use the Cornet. This is the only one of the eleven organ pieces in the manuscript to have any registration marked. Single organ is the registrational term for Chair organ (Owen & Williams 1988: 302). This implies that one of the instruments Blow played had a Cornet on the Great organ. Blow's 'Cornet Voluntary [in d]' in Add. MS 34,695 has one indication for the Cornet, in bar 20. The Cornet has a range of d^1-c^3 and is used for a highly ornamented solo line in the range above d^1; when not in this part of the compass the right hand joins the left in playing short interludes which never extend above d^1 (Cox 1989: 2/117-124). The voluntary is playable on a single-manual organ with the Cornet in the treble compass. Thus it is possible that the piece was intended for a single manual organ, using the same registration in both hands for the first twenty bars, with the addition in bar 20 of a Cornet from d^1 upwards (Cox 1983: 5). However, it is more logical to play it on a two-manual organ. A three-manual organ is only specified once in the 'Cornet Voluntary [in G]' from

the Nanki MS (Blow 1996: 58-60), the third manual being designated E[cho]. This is also the only specification of a third manual in the music of any of the Abbey organists during this period. Both Cox and McLean argue that this piece was composed for the organ of either the Banqueting House chapel (McLean) or St. Paul's Cathedral (Cox) (see Blow 1996: 94). An alternative explanation is that the Abbey organ had an Echo organ. This could explain the additional four stops Smith added in 1694: he might have added an Echo to a double organ, housed in the backwards extension of the organ case.

Table 3.1 lines 18-24 lists Purcell's organ pieces and their requirements (p. 57). Purcell's 'Voluntary for Double Organ' clearly requires two manuals, and the 'Voluntary on the Old 100th' calls for a half stop in the bass and a Cornet in the treble. The composer of the latter piece is open to question. In J. Stafford Smith's *Musica Antiqua* it is presented as a single organ voluntary attributed to Blow, whereas in Lbl Add. MS 34,695 it is a double voluntary attributed to Purcell (Holman 1994: 99). Although it is possible to play the 'Voluntary on the Old 100th' on a one-manual organ with a Cornet from c$^{\#1}$ and a Sesquialtera up to c^{1}, it would not be satisfactory without an assistant to change the registration during the piece. The range of the Cornet required for a single-manual performance is inconsistent with other Abbey music. The Cornet compass from d^{1}, which is required for all the music listed in Table 3.1, is unusual for English organs of this period, most of whose Cornets extended to c$^{\#1}$ (Smith) or c^{1} (Harris) (Cox 1983: 5 citing Williams 1962: 186). In a discussion relating to the Chapel Royal organ Cox suggests that a break a semitone higher than usual may suggest the alteration of the pitch of the instrument down a semitone (Cox 1983: 5). We have already noted that the pitch of the Abbey organ was lowered in 1710 (WAMS 47,688; ii/377), and it is tempting to use this same argument here. However, there is no evidence from the music (see Table 3.1) for the Cornet stop at the Abbey being from c$^{\#1}$ from 1660 to 1710. Was there greater freedom in choice of the Cornet range before the 'usual' ranges of Smith and Harris were established? The range of the Cornet stop may also have varied between one- and two-manual organs. The split on one-manual organs was not constant, varying between b/c and c/c$^{\#}$, giving different ranges for the Cornet stop for split keyboard voluntaries (Speller 1996: 74-75).

The composer of the Trumpet voluntary attributed to Purcell (no. 24 in Table 3.1) is not clearly established. The Voluntary is in two movements, and in his edition Cox follows Cooper's suggestion that the first movement is by Blow, and the second, the Trumpet Voluntary, by Purcell (Cox 1989: 1/111). John Butt is not convinced by this argument and suggests that the Trumpet Voluntary is not by Purcell:

> The piece does have a rambling nature and a rapid turn-over of motivic patterns which render it rather haphazard in sequence.... the singular lack of enthusiasm with which this piece is met by most scholars of Restoration organ music is telling (Butt 1995: 59, 60).

However, the instrument needed to perform it is consistent with the type of organ indicated in the other pieces known to be by Purcell. The piece needs a two-manual organ, with a Trumpet stop on the Great. This does not show that the piece was written by an Abbey organist, although it does not conflict with other pieces thought to be for the Abbey.

William Croft's surviving organ compositions for are chiefly preserved in Lbl Add. MS 5336, an eighteenth-century folio manuscript in which a set of twelve voluntaries appears on ff.38-47v. They are anonymous, but attributed to Croft in early catalogues, suggesting that the attribution was removed when the manuscript was rebound (Cox 1989: 1/488). The requirements of Croft's music are shown in Table 3.1, lines 25-29 (p. 57). There is a change in the compass of the organ Croft is writing for compared to the compass required by his predecessors. In 1710 Shrider added new keys and the 'proper movements belonging to them' to the Abbey organ (WAMS 47,688; ii/377). The fact that the new keys needed new movements belonging to them suggests that the work involved adding further notes to the compass of the organ. The voluntaries by Croft use the notes BB and BB^b, which were not used by any of the composers before him at the Abbey. Since Croft was not appointed at the Abbey until 1708, these voluntaries could well have been composed by him after this and after the addition of keys to the organ by Shrider in 1710. This juxtaposition of musical and archival evidence points to the addition of the two low notes as the extra keys added by Shrider in 1710. There is also some organ music by Croft in Lbl Add. 17,852. Add. 17,852 is principally a volume of anthems by Greene, which contains organ music on folios 4 to 8. Folios 4 and 5 contain some registration directions as do the accompaniments to some of the anthems by Greene (1696-1755). The folio 4 and 5

directions are for Croft's 'Voluntary in d minor' and 'Voluntary in a minor for Double Organ', with indications to use the 'Sesquialtera left hand', 'Cornet', 'Full organ', and '2 Diap Great'. The Greene anthems indicate 'Trumpett', 'Diapason & Flute', 'Sesquialtera', 'Cornett', and 'Diapason'. The consistent differences in spelling in the stop names between the Croft and the Greene pieces, and the request for 'Diapason & Flute' suggest that the registrations belong to the earlier versions, rather than having been added by the copyist. Therefore the Croft registrations in this manuscript are used as possible evidence for the specification of the Westminster Abbey organ.

Table 3.1
Compasses and Registrations derived from Organ Music by Westminster Abbey Organists 1660-1723.

Title *Sources cited in text*	*Edition, Page* *Registration*	*Range*	*Manuals*
Christopher Gibbons			
1. Voluntary in a for Double Organ Lbl Add. MS 34,695	Cox (2), 181-3	D,E-c^3	2
2. Verse in d for Double Organ " " " " Lbl Add. MS 34,695	Cox (2), 184-9 Caldwell, 14-26 Trumpet GG,C,D-c^3 Cornet e^1-c^3 Sesquialtera D,E-d^1	AA,C,D,E-a^2 GG,AA,C,D,E-c^3	2 2
3. Voluntary in C	Cox (2), 190-2	C,D,E-b^2	1
4. Voluntary in C for Double Organ	Cox (2), 193-8	C,D,E-b^2	2
4. Verse in a	Cox (2), 199-200	A-c^3	1
5. Verse in d	Cox (2), 201-4	D-c^3	1
6. Verse in F Och MS 1142(A)	Cox (2), 205-7	D,E,F-b^{b2}	1
Albertus Bryne			
7. Voluntary in a Lbl Add. MS 34,695	Cox (2), 160-2	AA,D,E-b^2	1
8. Ground in a	Cox (2), 163	AA,C,E-c^2	1
John Blow			
10. Double Voluntary [in d]	Cooper 27, 51-53	C,D,E-c^3	2
11. Cornet Voluntary [in a] Lbl Egerton 2959 f.32	Cooper 30,61-63 Cornet $d^{\#1}$-c^3 [on Great organ]	AA,C,D,E-C^3	2
12. Double Voluntary [in G]	Cooper 28, 54-57	GG,C,D,E-c^3	2
13. Cornet Voluntary [in d] Lbl Add. MS 34,695	Cox (2), 117-24 Cooper 25, 46-49 Cornet d^1-c^3 [on Great organ]	D,E-c^3	1or2
14. Summary of 7 Voluntaries	Cox (2), 91-114	GG,AA,C,D,E-c^3	1
15. Cornet Voluntary [in G]	Cooper 29, 58-60 2 Diapasons Cornet d^1-c^3 E[cho] manual	C-c^3	3

16. Double Voluntary [in C]	Cooper 24, 44-45	C-c^3	2
17. Double Voluntary [in d]	Cooper 26, 49-50	D-c^3	2

Henry Purcell

18. Verse in F Z716	McLean, 2	C,D-c^3	1
19. Voluntary in C Z717	McLean, 3	C,D-a^2	1
20. Voluntary in d Z718	McLean, 4-6	C,D-c^3	1
21. Voluntary for Double Organ Z719 Lbl Add. MS 34,695	McLean, 7-12	C,D-c^3	2
22. Voluntary in G Z720	McLean, 13-5	GG,C,D-b^2	1
23. Voluntary on the Old 100th Z721 Lbl Add. MS 34,695	McLean p 16-8 'half stop' E-e Cornet e^1-e^2	AA,D-b^2	?2
24. Trumpet Voluntary	Cox (2), 155-9 Trumpet a-a^2	AA,D-b^2	2

William Croft
All Lbl Add. MS 17,852

25. Voluntary III	Platt, 6-8 Diapasons D-d^2 Trumpet d^1-a^2 Cremona a^1-a^2	D,E-b^2	2
26. Voluntary IX (Voluntary in a)	Platt, 19-23 Sesquialtera GG-a Cornet $d^{\#1}$-c^3	AA,BB,C,D,E-c^3	2
27. Voluntary X	Platt, 24-8 Cornet d^1-b^2	D,E-b^2	2
28. VoluntaryXI	Platt, 28-32	C,D,E-b^{b2}	2
29. Voluntary in d	Cox (2), 164-6 2 Diap Great	AA,BB^b,C,D,E-c^3	1

Conclusions

Drawing conclusions from speculative evidence is fraught with danger. However, from the information in the above table the following tentative conclusions about the Restoration Organ at the Abbey can be made:

- it had two manuals and possibly an Echo for a third (c.f. Blow Nanki manuscript);
- its compass was GG,AA,C,D,E-c^3 and at some time after 1708 the bottom end of the compass was changed to include BB and BB^b;
- its specification included a Trumpet (throughout its compass), a Cornet (d^1-c^3), a Sesquialtera (up to $C^{\#1}$ or maybe d^1), Open Diapason and Stopped Diapason;
- its specification may have included a Cremona.

This information combined with the archival material yields the following speculative conclusions about the organ in the Abbey from 1660 until 1723. The organ was rebuilt in 1660, possibly by George Dallam, after sustaining some damage during the Commonwealth. The archival evidence for the presence of two manuals at this time is weak, though the second manual may have been added by Smith when he rebuilt the organ in 1694 when it was a two-manual instrument with a compass of GG,AA,C,D,E-c^3. If Smith added the second manual the double voluntaries by Gibbons were not written for the Abbey organ, whose specification included an Open Diapason, Stopped Diapason, Cornet, Sesquialtera, and Trumpet. In 1694 the organ builder Bernard Smith completely rebuilt the organ, adding four new stops to it: a Principal, Stopped Diapason, Nason and Fifteenth.

The organ was used in morning and evening prayer to play a voluntary after the psalm, and to accompany the canticles and anthem. The repertoire of the choir which survives in the Triforium Music indicates that anthems by Restoration composers were being readily taken into the repertoire, and that any initial emphasis on performing pre-Commonwealth music weakened as new music became available.

In 1710 the organ builder Christopher Shrider rebuilt the organ. He lowered the pitch by a semitone and added the notes BB and BB^b at the bottom of the compass. The notes $C^{\#}$ and $D^{\#}$ would have been added at this time also, the new low keys implying a change to long

compass. It is possible that a Cremona was added at this time, following Croft's Voluntary III.

A possible specification for the organ by 1727 would include:

Great Organ	**Chair Organ**
Open Diapason	Stopped Diapason
Stopped Diapason	Principal
Principal	Nason
Fifteenth	Fifteenth
Cornet	Cremona
Sesquialtera	
Trumpet	

Compass: GG,AA,BB^{b},BB,C-c^{3}

This is a significant addition to our knowledge of the Abbey organ from the Restoration until 1727. The amount of information available from the musical and textural sources has combined to give consistent results which are not surprising for a post-Restoration organ.

4

The Shrider Organ 1727-1831

Introduction

By 1727 Christopher Shrider had been the Abbey's organ builder for nearly twenty years, and for all of that time he had been responsible for the maintenance and occasional rebuilding of the instrument which had, in various forms, been in the Abbey since before the Restoration. The instrument was rebuilt by Shrider in 1718 when he undertook to keep it in playing order for ten years at £5 a year 'and for as many years afterwards as it is possible' (WAMS 47,700; ii/379). Ten years later, in 1728, Shrider agreed with the Dean and Chapter to build a new organ for £1000. This was to be paid as £700 in money plus the old organ. This is almost certainly Shrider's most significant new organ and the only organ that he built in a cathedral or abbey church.

The New Shrider Organ, 1728

Shrider's Articles of Agreement with the Dean and Chapter for the new organ, dated 20 May 1728, are recorded in Lease Book 33 f.199r.-f.200r. (ii/321). They are for a 'compleat new organ' to be ready by 20 May 1729. A month before this agreement was signed the Dean and Chapter had ordered that the 'new Organ given by his Maj[es]tie to this Church, be erected over the Entrance into the Choir' (Chapter Book VIII, 16 April 1728; ii/296). When the organ was completed in 1730 the Treasurer paid Shrider for it (Chapter Book VIII, 7 November 1730; ii/296). The articles of agreement also specify that the old organ in the Abbey was not to be taken down until the new organ was finished. This is supported by the Chapter minutes of 21 October 1730, which contain an order to take down the old organ loft on the north side of the choir stalls; this instrument was then to be disposed of by the Treasurer (ii/296).

A new screen was built at the entrance to the choir for the new organ. Work was carried out in 1729, with payments to carpenters, joiners and bricklayers being recorded in May of that year for building the new screen and moving old stalls to make way for it (WAMS 34,515 ff. 55v., 57r., 58v., 59v.; ii/367). The time taken to build the new screen may have delayed the opening of the organ until 1730, a year after the contract date of 1729. The new

organ, the King's gift, was placed in a central position on the new screen. Was this architectural change of symbolic significance? In his article 'The Eighteenth-Century Organ and the Collective Psyche: a vehicle for national ideals', Pierre Dubois argues that the link between church and state in the eighteenth century was epitomised by organs being built in prominent locations. In the parish church the congregation united around the organ when it lead them together in singing. In the Abbey this role was more symbolic, and gave a visual and aural reference point in common to each side of the choir screen. The organ became a nucleus around which society organised itself, more especially polite 'Whig' society (Dubois 1996: 109). In this sense the erection of the new organ on the choir screen at Westminster can be seen as a political statement, reminding society that it was governed by church and state, and symbolically drawing them together.

The Specification of the new Shrider Organ

Shrider's articles of agreement contain many details of the new organ. It was to be twenty three feet high and fourteen feet wide. Its case and carving were in wainscot with a gilt double front having the chair organ separate from the main case. The specification was:

Great

D in alt. down to double Gamut Long Octaves

	Pipes
Open diapason	56
Open diapason	56
Stop diapason	56
Principal	56
Cornett of five Ranks	130
Twelfth	56
Fifteenth	56
Sesquialtera	168
Nason	56
Trumpet	56
Clarion	56
Mixture	112

Chair

D in alt. down to double Gamut Long Octaves

Principal, in front Gilt	56
Stop diapason	56
Flute	56
Fifteenth	56
Cremona	56

Ecchos

'all to Swell, and begin from C sol fa ut cliff upwards'

Open diapason
Quintadena
Principal
Flageolet
Trumpet
Vox humana

The organ was to have 'three large pair of Bellows, Sound Boards [R]owling Boards & Movements...'

This specification for the Echos or Swell (the terms here are used synonymously) is different from that traditionally quoted of Open Diapason, Stopped Diapason, Trumpet, Hautboy with a compass from fiddle G up (Pearce nd.a: 59). Pearce's source was Leffler's notebook which was edited and published as Pearce's *Notes on English Organs* (c.1895). Leffler must have recorded this specification after 1802, since he gives this as the date of appointment of the then organist (Pearce nd.a: 59). The extended compass may be attributed to the new keys Jordan added in 1736 (see below p. 64), but it is not clear whether the Swell was replaced with this four-stop division then or later in the century. The Chair compass and specification given by Leffler are the same as in the 1728 agreement and the Great differs only in the nomenclature of the Nason, now called Flute.

Hopkins and Rimbault (1855: 446) attributed the organ of 1730 to Shrider and Jordan, an attribution that has been quoted many times since (e.g. Freeman 1923a: 137). Although Hopkins & Rimbault give no source for this, the attribution is confirmed in a note in the Precentor's Book which reads:

> The new organ built by Mr. Shrider and Mr. Jordan was opened on the first of August 1730 by Mr. Robinson;.... (WAMS 60,000 f.29r.; ii/438)

This note was discovered in 1845, and mentioned in a letter from Ja[so]n Marquet to Richard Clark at the Abbey (WAMS 60,012; ii/438). The precentor's book cited is contemporary with the organ of 1730, and contains notes of various significant events during the eighteenth century. It adds support to the belief that the organ was built jointly by Shrider and Jordan, although this does not mean that they were necessarily in partnership. The articles of agreement are with Shrider alone and it is not until 1736 that there is another mention of Jordan at the Abbey.

The organ of 1730 was first altered in 1733 when Shrider was paid £5 for putting a 'Cornet of three ranks into it in Exchange of another stop' (Chapter Book VIII 31 October 1733; ii/296). By comparison with other contemporary organ specifications it is most likely that the Flageolet was the stop replaced (Knight 1995: 26). This stop had been removed by the time Leffler recorded the specification in 1802, suggesting that the new Cornet stop was in the Echo and Swell and was replaced later in the century when the 1730 Swell was changed for the four-stop Swell recorded by Leffler.

Abraham Jordan & Christopher Shrider

From 1737 until 1748 Jordan and Shrider appear to have shared the work of tuning the Abbey organ although the nature of the relationship between them is not known. Freeman comments:

> The partnerships between English Organ Builders of this period are difficult to follow. They seem to have been merely temporary.... From 1739, if not earlier, till his death... Jordan was certainly in partnership with the two Shriders (Freeman 1925: 1129).

No formal agreements survive suggesting that Jordan and Shrider worked jointly for churches in the City of London, although we know that they worked independently here. Therefore the Abbey is no exception to their working habits elsewhere. The Treasurer's accounts from 1737-1748 (WAMS 33,769-33,779; ii/363) never mention them jointly and draw distinctions between them and the work they were paid to do. This suggests that a formal partnership never existed. In February 1734/5 Jordan was paid £5 for tuning the organ to Michaelmas last [i.e. 1734] although the accounts show Shrider as the organ tuner for the year in question (WAMS 33,766; ii/363), which is the closest we get to the

suggestion of an agreement between them. Any arrangement they had was not long lasting and in October 1747 Jordan sent a note to the Treasurer to tell him not to 'let Mr Shrider have one farthing' of the money owed to Jordan:

> I... Will wait on you Saturday Morning Pray dont lett Mr Shrider have one farthing, I Have his orders to receive any Moneys w[hic]h shall ever become due now & for ye future... A Jordan (WAMS 57,341; ii/426).

Jordan was first employed by the Abbey in 1736 when he cleaned the organ and altered the Swell organ - by the addition of keys and providing new stops (WAMS 46,314 & 46,215; ii/372). This addition of keys is most likely to have been a downwards extension of the Swell compass to f or g below middle c and a change in the specification to Open Diapason, Stopped Diapason, Oboe, Trumpet (Pearce nd.a: 59), although he was not paid for this until 1739 (WAMS 33,771 f.4v.; ii/363). Jordan was paid to take down and clean the organ in 1737; this same year Shrider was paid for tuning it (WAMS 33,769; ii/363). It appears that Jordan was preferred to Shrider for major work on the organ while Shrider was employed for tuning. In 1747 the organ was again taken down, cleaned and repaired by Abraham Jordan (WAMS 46,674; ii/372). Shrider had been tuning the organ in 1746 (WAMS 33,777; ii/363), although he was unable to collect his salary personally by reason of his 'long lameness' (WAMS 57,363; ii/426). This lameness was presumably the end of Shrider's career at the Abbey and there is no record of him working there again before his death in 1751 (Owen & Williams 1988: 385). In May 1747 Shrider sent a note to the Treasurer directing him to pay Abraham Jordan the salary due for looking after the organ (WAMS 57,364; ii/426). Jordan alone is paid for tuning and maintaining the Abbey organ from 1748 until his death in 1756. (c.f. WAMS 33,787 f.4v.; ii/363). Christopher Shrider junior took over the tuning in 1757 (WAMS 33,788; ii/363), which he continued until his death in 1763 (Owen & Williams 1988: 385).

In 1758 the organ sustained some malicious damage when twenty-four pipes were stolen (WAMS 48,113A-E; ii/382). The prime suspects appear to be some boys who had found a loose panel in the organ case through which they could gain access to the inside (WAMS 48,113D; ii/383). There is no record of anyone ever being found guilty of taking the pipes. Christopher Shrider junior sent an account of the missing pipes along with a price for

replacing them, and at the same time repairing other damage and taking down and cleaning the organ (WAMS 48,113C; ii/383). He carried out this work in 1758, and the organ was used again on Sunday 29 October 1758 after the works had been in hand for over two months (WAMS 48,113D; ii/383). The Chapter minutes make no mention of the theft of the pipes and refer to this work as tuning and 'repairing the stopps that were wanting' (Chapter Book X, 3 January 1759; ii/297).

Thomas Knight

The Treasurer's accounts for 1764 record that the organ builder Thomas Knight took over tuning the organ in that year (WAMS 33,795; ii/364). He had previously worked at the Abbey on the organ for the coronation in 1761 (WAMS 48,097A; ii/379).

The organ was repaired by him at a cost of £12 in 1776 (WAMS 33,807; ii/364). The only reference to this work apart from the accounts is in the Chapter minutes, where we are told merely:

> That the Treasurer do pay Mr Thos. Knight the sum of twelve pounds, for taking down, repairing, thorough cleaning, putting in order and tuning the organs (Chapter Book XI, 28 November 1776; ii/297).

There is no detail about the work; indeed until the mid-nineteenth century the Chapter minutes are frustratingly vague about expenditure on the organ. For instance the organ was again repaired, cleaned, and put in order in 1784 for £12 0s 2p (WAMS 49,692A; ii/385), but there is no record of what this involved.

James Hancock took over the tuning of the organ in 1786 (WAMS 33,817; ii/364), and the organ was 'cleaned and repaired' by him in 1789 at a cost of 18 Guineas (WAMS 33,820 f.5r.; ii/364, Chapter Book XII 31 December 1789; ii/297).

John Avery

John Avery tuned the organ with Hancock in 1792, and took the tuning over in 1793 (WAMS 33,823 & 33,824; ii/364). He repaired and improved the organ in 1793 at the cost of £47 3s 0p (WAMS 33,824 f. 5r.; ii/364). The Chapter order tells us only:

> Ordered that the following Bills be paid by the Treasurer. John Avery, for cleaning, repairing & improving the organ £43.7.0d (Chapter Book XIII p. 44, 23 April 1793; ii/298)

Again there is no record of the nature of the improvements. This is the first entry that specifically mentions a change to the instrument since the new swelling stops were added in 1736.

In 1794 a wainscot fence with a door each side of the organ was erected to enclose the organist during the services:

> Ordered that Mr Miles do erect a Wainscott fence with a door on each side of the Organ to inclose the Organist in Divine Service (Chapter Book XIII p. 62, 22 March 1794; ii/298).

No reason for this order is given. Concealing the organist from the congregation appears still to have been a matter of concern, as it was just after the Restoration (see Chapter 3). Dubois sees symbolic significance in the eighteenth-century custom of hiding the organist, with either a screen or curtain. The congregation unite around the organ, that is under the control of a single musician, but the focus of the congregation is on the organ and its music, not the organist, hence the appropriateness of the player being screened from their view (Dubois 1996: 108).

Between 1796 and 1803 the Treasurer's accounts and the Chapter minutes record complementary, but different, items of expenditure on the organ. The Treasurer's accounts record annual payments of £12 to John Avery, with an additional £30 in 1801 for repairing the organ. The Chapter minutes record an order for payment of £3 16s 0d on 16 February 1796 for repairs by Avery (Chapter Book XIII, p. 104; ii/298) followed in 1802 by a further £18 4s 11d in part of a bill of £48 5s 11d:

> Ordered the £18.4.11 remainder of John Avery's bill of £48.5.11 for cleaning the Organ be paid by the Treasurer when the Dean is Satisfied as to the state and condition of the instrument (Chapter Book XIII p. 265, 7 December 1802; ii/298).

The remainder of £18 4s 11d complements the payment of £30 in 1801, but it never seems to have been paid. Perhaps the Dean was never satisfied about the state of the instrument. Support for this view may be deduced from the fact that Avery was the first organ builder

since the Restoration to lose the contract for tuning of the Abbey organ before his death. Avery's last payment from the Abbey was in 1803 (WAMS 33,834 f.4v.; ii/364), five years before he died in 1808 (Owen and Williams 1988: 345). He appears to have been unwilling to relinquish the work at the Abbey, shown by the fact that in 1805 the Dean and Chapter had to write to him and order him to give up his keys to the organ (Chapter Book XIII p. 368, 3 June 1805; ii/298).

Thomas Elliot

In 1805 Thomas Elliot took over the tuning of organ (Chapter Book XIII, p. 354, 7 March 1805; ii/298), and he was first paid in 1805 for tuning and repairing at a cost of £39 0s 6d (WAMS 33,836 f.5v.; ii/365). In 1810 the larger sum of £60 was spent on repairs by Elliot (WAMS 33,841 f.5v.; ii/365). This was after the organist Robert Cooke had written to the Dean and Chapter reporting on the repairs needed to the organ and an improvement to make it 'more perfect':

> Mr Cooke the organist having made a report of the Repairs wanting in the organ also of an improved movement that would make it more perfect all of which was estimated at about sixty pounds Ordered that the repairs be done and the improvements made (Chapter Book XIV, p. 118, 19 July 1810; ii/299).

An order to pay for this unidentified work was made on 20 November 1810 (Chapter Book XIV, p. 128; ii/299). Three years later in 1813 Mr. Elliot sent in a bill of £73 for repairing the organ in the summer of 1813. The Treasurer's accounts only record a payment of £23 (WAMS 33,844 f.5v.; ii/365).

The temporary removal of the organ from Westminster Abbey for the 1824 coronation (see Chapter 5) was used as an opportunity to repair the instrument and make additions to it (Chapter Book XV, pp. 181 & 218; ii/299). Although details of this work are not recorded, two indications about them survive. One is in a reference made by Vincent Novello to the replacement of the keyboards:

> The keys of the old Abbey Organ ^with the Ivory worn away into a concave surface^ by the fingers of Purcell, Dr. Blow, Dr. Croft Dr. Cooke and other admirable performers - are now (1828) in the possession of the editor; this very curious Relic having been presented to him by Mr Elliot the Organ Builder ^who found it necessary to remove several parts of^ the ancient instrument when he repaired it a few years since (Lbl Add. MS 9073).

This comment is pasted into a manuscript used in the preparation of the Novello edition of the sacred music of Purcell. The 'few years since' could refer to any of the above occasions when a substantial sum of money was spent on the organ. The other indication is an announcement about the extension of the pedal compass:

> CHURCH MUSIC. - Through the liberality of the very Reverend the Dean of Westminster, the fine organ in the Abbey has recently been enriched by the addition of an octave of double-double open diapason PEDAL PIPES to GGG, by Elliott and Hill, which are five notes lower than those just placed in St. Paul's Cathedral: the effect produced by them in the Abbey is grand in the extreme. Messrs Elliott and Hill have at the same time introduced a great improvement in the mechanism of a Valve, never before accomplished, to convey wind to the pedal pipes, by which all concussion is effectually prevented; And on the same principle the pedal pipes, when on the keys may be played with as much ease to the finger as are the highest keys in the organ (*The Times,* 10 November 1828).

This fascinating advertisement tells us a great deal, although of the actual invention itself very little is said (an account is given in Thistlethwaite 1990: 125). The Abbey was proud of this addition to its organ, not least because it bettered St. Paul's. The 'grand effect' of the pedal pipes is singled out for praise. The patronage of the Dean suggests the Abbey authorities were possibly unwilling to use their corporate resources on this development, although other sums of money were being spent on the organ. The pedal pipes were available to play on the manual keys, a reminder of the fact that although the organ had had pedals for many years, some organists preferred to use the manuals only. The development of a valve to make the pressure needed to open the large pedal pallets independent of the amount of work required of the organist was a breakthrough which was to become central to large organ design during the nineteenth century.

Elliot continued to tune alone until 1829. The following year he worked up with William Hill to tune the organ, a partnership which continued until Elliot's death in 1832 (Owen & Williams 1988: 356), when Hill took over the care of the Abbey organ (WAMS 33,864; ii/366).

The Addition of Pedals to the Abbey Organ

Although the English Baroque organ is characterised by its lack of pedals, at some time during the eighteenth century a few organs in England began to have them fitted. The Westminster Abbey organ was one such instrument. We do not know who carried out the work, nor exactly when, neither do we know whether pedals and independent pedal pipes were installed together, of if there were at first simply pedal pull-downs to which independent pipes were added later. Since pedals are not mentioned in Shrider's 1728 contract it is probable that they were added to the organ after this. In the absence of clear archival details one approach to investigation is to reconcile published accounts of the organ, the records at the Abbey and music written for the it. Although this is problematical and inconclusive, most especially in dating the advent of the Pedal organ, it reveals many of the problems inherent in separating fact from traditional fiction with regard to this organ.

Although no primary evidence bearing on these questions survives there is no shortage of speculation, as shown by the following quotation from Jocelyn Perkins:

> The first important addition to the organ was made just half a century after its official opening.... Thirteen pedal pipes (GG to Gamut G) open and made of wood were now added. A more primitive and elementary piece of organ-building is scarcely imaginable, especially as no means existed of coupling the pedals to the manuals. None the less, this was in all probability the first independent pedal organ seen in England. It would be interesting to discover the name of the builder responsible for inaugurating this remarkable development, but it still remains a matter of doubt. In the absence of other information, it is perhaps not unreasonable to place it to the credit of another celebrated maker, John Avery, who first came into public notice somewhere about 1775. An element of uncertainty, too, surrounds the precise date of this addition to the Abbey organ. There exists a tradition, however, which on the face of things seems not improbable, to the effect that the well-known Service in G major by Dr. Cooke was written by him in order to commemorate the reopening of the enlarged organ. The autographed score of the Te Deum bears the date July 11, 1778, the Jubilate being dated some twelve days later (Perkins 1937: 35).

Perkins arrived at thirteen as the number of pedal pipes from Pearce's *Notes on English Organs*, where the pedals are described as follows:

> Pedal - 13 'Pedal pipes' from GGG to GG. The Pedal pipes are open wood, *unconnected with the keyboard*; of very large dimensions, and though only unisons with the Diapasons, from their increased size have the effect of a Double Diapason - from the quality of the tone (Pearce nd.a: 59).

Leffler wrote this after 1802 and his manuscript notes are the basis of Pearce's book. If Leffler saw the organ after 1802 his notes imply the persistence of the thirteen independent pedal pipes at that date.

Perkins' next claim is that the Abbey had 'in all probability' the first independent Pedal organ in England. More work is needed to establish the validity of this claim. Two other claims for early Pedal organs are made by Audsley, who, in his *Art of Organ Building*, suggests that St. Matthew's, Friday Street, in the City of London, had independent pedals in 1790 (citing Pearce nd.b: 214), and that pedal pull downs were used by Snetzler at the Savoy chapel c. 1785 (citing a letter of Charles Wesley) (Audsley 1965: 1/187). This is a very early date for pedals, and may make the Abbey one of the first places to have a pedalboard of a compass of over an octave. In a table of English organs with pedal pipes to 1820 (Thistlethwaite 1990: 15-16) the Abbey is the second entry, citing the traditionally held date of 1793. The earliest example given is 1773, for a Samuel Green organ at Walsall Parish church, but that it had pedals at this date is considered doubtful.

Should Shrider be included as a possible supplier of the pedals, and their date put back to before 1764? Shrider had already added a pedal of some sort at St. Paul's Cathedral in 1720/1; a bill from Christopher Shrider recorded in St. Paul's Wages Book 45 includes the following:

> For adding six large Trumpet pipes down to / 16 foot Tone to be used with a pedal or without 36:0:0
>
> For the pedal and its movements 20:0:0
>
> (GHMS 25,471/55 f. 25r.)

Since Shrider had built pedals at St. Paul's Cathedral at this early date, it is possible that he could be associated with pedals at Westminster Abbey. At the very least he might have suggested that they were added there.

Perkins' attribution of the pedals to John Avery does not agree with his suggested date of c. 1778, since Avery did not start to work at the Abbey until 1792. If the date of 1778 is followed, Thomas Knight would have been the one who built them (WAMS 33,807 f.4v.; ii/364). If Avery added the pedals the later date of 1793 is put forward:

> ... in 1793 Avery added 'an octave of unison wood GG pedal pipes' to the organ of Westminster Abbey. In 1811 a compass of $1^1/_2$ octave of pedals (and pipes) can be traced, in 1829 25 notes are recorded, and so on until the compass of the pedal board extended to its present dimensions (anon, *Musical Times*, Sept. 1899, 600).

Sadly the above anonymous writer in the *Musical Times* of 1899 did not tell us the source from which his citations were taken and there is no evidence for these assertions. Likewise the extension of the Pedal organ in the early nineteenth century is unrecorded. A further contribution to the ideas about the addition of pedals to the Shrider organ was made by Stanley Webb:

> 13 [pedal] pipes were added in 1778, probably the first independent pedal organ in England. These were a set of large-scale, lightly blown wooden pipes, designed to provide a deep-toned bass to the manuals (Webb 1983: 638).

Webb is quoting Leffler for thirteen as the number of pedal pipes, but the information about them being lightly blown must be based on an assumption about the winding of the organ at this time. Freeman also suggests that Thomas Elliot added an octave of 'double pedal pipes (from GGG) after 1804' (Freeman 1923a: 138), possibly an incorrect early date for the work recorded in *The Times* in 1828 (p. 68). There is no record of this at the Abbey, although Elliot was paid for unspecified work in 1805, 1810 and 1813. The payment in 1810 was for £60 (WAMS 33,841 f.5v.; ii/365), which would be enough money to pay for these large pipes.

Although we can be certain that the Abbey organ had acquired pedals by the beginning of the nineteenth century, little more can be gleaned about them from the written sources. The advent of the pedals has been attributed to both Avery and Knight, although the claims do not always agree with the dates when they are working there. Shrider, who had already been responsible for pedals many years earlier at St. Paul's Cathedral, may have supplied pedals at the Abbey. As with the Restoration organs we need to look at the musical evidence to discover more about the instrument that was used by the eighteenth-century organists.

Abbey Organists, 1727-1831

During the period 1727-1831 the organists of Westminster Abbey were:

John Robinson	1727-1762
Benjamin Cooke	1762-1793
Samuel Arnold	1793-1802
Robert Cooke	1803-1814
George Ebenezer Williams	1814-1819
Thomas Greatorex	1819-1831 (Carpenter 1972: 424)

These organists all held other positions whilst they were in post at the Abbey:

John Robinson	1710-1762 St. Lawrence Jewry c.1712-1762 St. Magnus the Martyr (Dawe 1983: 138) c.1713-1727 Assistant to Croft at Westminster Abbey (Routh 1973: 185)
Benjamin Cooke	1782-1793 St. Martin in the Fields (Routh 1973: 261)
Samuel Arnold	1783-1802 The Chapel Royal
Robert Cooke	1752-1793 Conductor of the Academy of Ancient Music 1793-[1814] St. Martin in the Fields (Marsh 1998: 549)
George Ebenezer Williams	1805 Deputy at the Temple Church (Dawe 1983: 156) 1805-1819 Organist, Philanthropic Society's chapel
Thomas Greatorex	1793-1831 Conductor of the Ancient Concerts 1822-1831 Professor of Organ and Piano at the Royal Academy of Music

With the exception of Benjamin Cooke, little manuscript organ music by these composers survives, suggesting that a tradition of improvising continued at the Abbey during this period. This is attested to by John Marsh (1752-1828), a composer and writer on music, who kept a journal that includes accounts of musical services he attended. He heard Robert Cooke play on at least two occasions, improvising on one of them:

> Robert Cooke playing at Chichester: [he] shew'd off the organ much more than Dupuis had done...[and] played an extempore voluntary in w'ch he went through the different stops with good effect (Marsh 1998: 522).
>
> I went to St. Martin in the Fields [Easter Day 1794], where I sat in the organ loft with Mr R Cook, who had succeeded his father as organist of that church, whose style in his 1st Voluntary he seemed exactly to adopt, viz. by playing a slow prelude on the Diapasons, and then drawing the Principal & playing a fugue (Marsh 1998: 549).

Although neither of these accounts refer to the Abbey, Robert Cooke's improvising skills were doubtless used there after his appointment as organist in 1803.

Samuel Arnold was a prolific composer of operas and stage works, as well as other vocal music. His keyboard compositions are almost all for the harpsichord, although he wrote some concerti for organ, which probably arose from his work for the theatre. He wrote one solo organ work, a Largo and Allegro in D c. 1783 (*Grove 6*, 1/616ff), ten years before his appointment at the Abbey. He also had antiquarian interests and edited an edition of the works of Handel. This interest in early music was followed by his successors Williams and Greatorex. Williams' personal library contained 'significant amounts of manuscript and printed sets of Madrigals and Motets' (King 1963: 27), and Greatorex's activities as a collector of music led to him amassing a library which included J. C. Smith's copies of Handel. He travelled widely, and developed his interests in mathematics, astronomy and natural history (King 1963: 37). Robert Cooke (1768-1814), George Ebenezer Williams (1783-1819) and Thomas Greatorex (1758-1831) left no surviving organ music (*Grove 6*, 7/656).

John Robinson (1682-1762) was a fashionable harpsichord teacher. He had a reputation as a 'very florid and elegant performer on the organ' and attracted crowds to hear him play (Hawkins 1776: 5/182). Comments on Robinson's style of playing have provoked many authors to colourful writing, as demonstrated by the following passage from Boyce:

> In parish churches the voluntary between the psalms and the first lesson was anciently a slow solemn movement, tending like the Sanctus in the choral service, to compose the minds of the hearers, and to excite sentiments of piety and devotion. Mr Robinson introduced a practice calculated to display the agility of his fingers in Allegro movements on the Cornet, Trumpet, Sesquialtera and other noisy stops, degrading the instrument, and instead of a full and noble harmony with which it was designed to gratify the ear, tickling it with mere airs in two parts, in fact solos for a flute and a bass (Boyce 1788: iii).

This passage appears in Bumpus' *History of Cathedral Music* (p. 212), and Jocelyn Perkins copied it, applying it to Robinson's performances at the Abbey (Perkins 1937: 29). Boyce was actually writing about Robinson's performance at St. Lawrence Jewry, although his comments about style doubtless hold true for his improvising in the Abbey. The Trumpet, Sesquialtera and Cornet on which Robinson displayed his 'digital dexterity' were all stops in the Abbey organ he played and its three manuals would have facilitated the flute and bass solos.

The description of Robinson's playing suggests a style typical of the English voluntary of the first part of the eighteenth century and its criticism demonstrates changes in style occurring in the English church thereafter. During the century the traditional places for voluntaries were between the psalms and the first lesson, and, towards the end of the century, after the sermon also (Speller 1996: 64). Marsh notes the playing of a voluntary before the lesson at St. Martin in the Fields at the end of the eighteenth century (Marsh 1998: 488). The voluntary after the psalms was usually an allegro movement for solo stops, and that after the sermon a fugue. John Reading, organist of St. John's church, Hackney, was criticised as early as 1719 for playing 'too light, Airy and Jyggy Tunes, no way proper to raise the Devotion Suitable for a Religious Assembly' (Speller 1996: 65), and Robinson comes in for the same criticism. By the end of the eighteenth century Cornet voluntaries were viewed as 'indecorous sources of frivolity within the church service' (Speller 1996: 73) and writers such as John Marsh were counselling that the Cornet should be used sparingly.

Only one organ composition by Robinson, a Voluntary in a minor, has been discovered. This is available in an edition made by Susi Jeans from a manuscript at the Henry Watson Library in Manchester (Robinson 1966: ii). The manuscript is in John Reading's hand and is dated 1727, the year of Robinson's appointment at the Abbey. It almost certainly does not reflect on the Abbey organ, and if it did it would have been written for the Restoration organ in use at that time. The two-movement voluntary has an adagio for the Diapasons followed by an Andante for Cornet and 'Ecco'. This movement is in two parts and is typical of its style and period. It further indicates that the criticism Robinson suffered was because the style had become unfashionable, not that he was a poor exponent of it.

The Choral Repertoire

On 1 July 1786 Marsh attended Westminster Abbey on the day of the visitation of the Archbishop of Wales and Dean and Chapter of St David's. He found a choir of ten Lay Vicars and ten choristers who sang a full anthem for the procession to the choir at the start of the service and a verse anthem by Croft before the sermon (Huntington Library MS HM 54,4457 Vol. 10, pp. 107-8 cited Wilson 1996: 301). Of the music on 'normal' Sundays

Hawkins comments that the choir of Westminster sang a Sanctus between morning prayer and communion in place of a voluntary (Hawkins 1776: 2/690).

Two major sources of information about the eighteenth-century choral repertoire at the Abbey survive. The most specific to the Abbey is the Triforium Music, but over the century various printed lists of anthems sung in cathedrals and collegiate churches were published, which also contain details of the standard choral repertoire (e.g. Pordage 1749 and Pearce 1826). From the analysis of the contents of the Triforium Music (ii/487) we can see the number of services and anthems tabulated by composer in each set of these books. Set 3, which spans nearly the entire century, has the widest repertoire, and reflects the activities of John Robinson and Benjamin Cooke. All that remains of Set 4 is two organ books, which were copied towards the end of the eighteenth century, during Cooke's time as organist. The books include work by Restoration as well as pre- and post-Reformation sixteenth-century composers. The composers with the most pieces are contemporaries and include Greene (39 anthems), Croft (20), Handel (14), Gates (6) and Boyce (5). Of the Restoration composers, the best represented are Croft (20 anthems), Purcell (12), and Aldrich (7). The evidence of the two remaining books of Set 4 suggests that the repertoire expanded more under Robinson than Cooke, with only John Goldwin and James Kent having substantially more works in Set 4. The number of composers in this set is larger, but there are fewer works by each. All the composers introduced for the first time were writing at the time the books were compiled; they include Thomas Attwood and Richard Bellamy. This emphasis on contemporary composers is perhaps surprising, not least since Benjamin Cooke is the musician who is most closely associated with the rediscovery of ancient music. It could indicate that Cooke had a significant influence on the repertoire while he was Robinson's assistant, or that Robinson, who had been Croft's assistant at the Abbey had more historical awareness than he is usually credited with.

The published books of anthems from 1748 and 1826 show the expansion of the repertoire between these dates, with the total number of pieces increasing, while some composers declined in popularity. Seventeenth-century composers from each side of the Commonwealth seem to have declined in popularity at the start of the nineteenth century.

Composers active in the eighteenth century tended to remain as well, or better, represented in the anthem books (for analysis of contents see ii/490). One exception is Maurice Greene, who had 64 anthems in the 1749 collection and only 41 in 1826. The 1826 list shows the importance of Handel, who had 32 anthems included, although this was only equal ranking with his contemporaries Dupuis, Boyce and Nares. Composers introduced for the first time in 1826 show a broadening of the repertoire with both contemporary and early composers, including John Bull. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster were listed among the subscribers to the edition of William Hayes (1707-1777) *Cathedral Music...*, published in 1795, and purchased five copies (Hayes 1795: 1/3). The Triforium Music includes the same number of composers as the printed books (77), implying a similar approach to the repertoire in other cathedral and collegiate churches.

Benjamin Cooke (1734-1793) became the deputy organist for John Robinson at the Abbey when he was twelve years old, succeeding him as organist in 1762. He composed a considerable amount of organ music while in post at the Abbey, preserved in autograph at the Royal College of Music, London. There are two volumes of posthumously-published *Fugues and Other Pieces for the Organ*, prepared for publication by his son, Robert Cooke, who succeeded him as organist of the Abbey. The edition was faithful to his father's manuscript. Table 4.2, p. 90 lists this organ music and details of the organ apparent in the scores.

Benjamin Cooke is the organist associated with the installation of pedals in the organ at the Abbey. We have seen that dating the first use of pedals is problematic, and it is difficult to reconcile the music in Cooke's autographs with the ideas about the Pedal organ preserved in organ histories.

Lcm MS 810 contains Benjamin Cooke's 'A set of Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsichord' (ff. 1-9). They are dated 1771 and signed by the composer at Dorset House, Greenwich, while he was the Abbey organist. They are a collection of 18 short movements for the organ encompassing many styles with the titles march, fugue, minuet, siciliana, rondeau and canon featuring in the collection. They make a wide range of demands on the

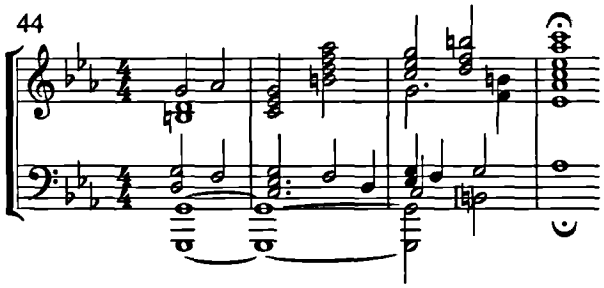
organ exploiting many solo, chorus and echo effects. As can be seen in Table 4.2 (p. 90), an organ with three manuals and pedals is needed for the performance of these voluntaries. An edition of them can be found in Appendix 1 (i/203-241).

Cooke's registration indications in these pieces include the following:

- Adding reeds to the full organ (Lcm MS 810 f. 2v.);
- Trumpet and Cornet as a solo in the treble range (ibid. f. 2d.);
- Trumpet, Principal, Twelfth and Sesquialtera (ibid. f. 2d.).

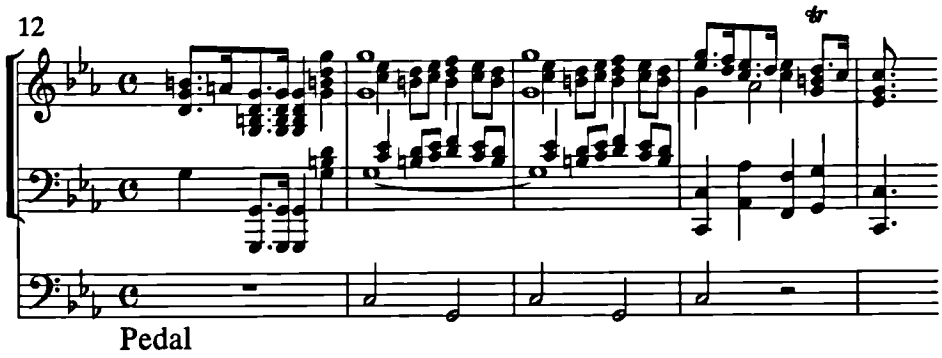
The use of the Trumpet with the compound stops is unusual. Was Cooke here notating his standard practice, a special effect which he required, or a practical need on the Abbey organ because of a weak Trumpet? We can also note that for Cooke the term full organ did not normally include the reeds.

Cooke's voluntaries contain implicit and explicit demands for a Pedal organ and make consistent demands of it. Example 1 is a typical indication for a pedal-point which needs a Pedal organ for its performance.



Ex. 1 Lcm MS 810 f. 1r. Adagio, Diapasons.

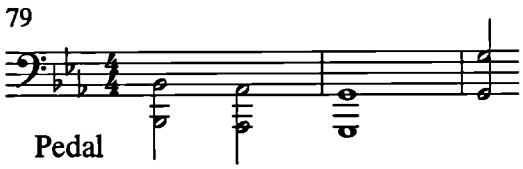
The explicit specifications of pedals are of more value, however, to this argument. They include some of the first English writing for the organ on three staves, shown in Example 2 from the March in E flat major, Lcm MS 810, f. 3v.



Ex 2 Lcm MS 810 f. 3v., bars 12-16.

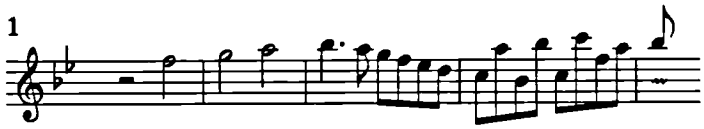
Cooke's Fugue for the Organ in C minor has two passages where the pedal is indicated, the first of which has a surprisingly wide compass, when we remember that only thirteen pedal notes are suggested by the literature (see Example 3).

The pedal is also indicated for the lowest note of these octave in Bars 79-81



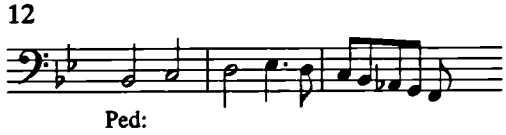
Ex. 3 Lcm MS 810 f. 4r, 5r.

In the Fugue in B flat the pedal takes the fugue subject on two occasions, and with it the pedal compass goes up to E flat (Example 4).

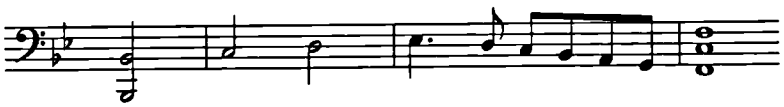


Subject

compare with pedal bars 12-14:



The subject in the pedal at the end of the fugue bars 87-90:



Ex. 4 Lcm MS 810 f. 8r.

The compass of the pedal is consistent in the manuscript organ voluntaries. The March on f. 3v. has pedal notes written on a third stave with the range of BB^{b}-e^{b} (Example 2). Combining this with other two-stave pieces where the low pedal notes are clearly indicated gives a chromatic range from GG to e^{b}. The Fugue in Bb on f. 8r. of this volume is scored on two staves and also requires a pedalboard from BBb-eb. Since Cooke is not known to have held an organist's post elsewhere during these years, it is likely that the pieces in Lcm MS 810 from 1771 were written for performance at the Abbey, seven years before the earliest previously suggested date for pedals there. Separate pedal stops are never specified, and we do not know if the pedals worked independent pipes or were simply coupled to the manual keys.

1778 is the traditional date for the installation of the Pedal organ. One argument put forward for this is that Cooke's Service in G was written to use the pedals for the first time (e.g. Perkins 1937: 35). Watkins Shaw puts forward 1780 as the date of this service, using the traditional date for the pedals as evidence (*Grove 6*, 4/709). Two manuscript organ parts for this service survive, and neither of them contain any pedal indications, or any writing that calls for their use (Lcm MS 827 parts, and another organ part Lcm MS 814). Furthermore, early printed editions of the service contain no pedal indications (Kent 1988: 76) and a new edition of this service prepared from the Lcm manuscripts (i/244-279) shows the complete absence of pedal indications. It is therefore not appropriate to link this service with the advent of a Pedal organ at Westminster Abbey.

Cooke also copied Bach's Prelude in C BWV 545a, the Fugue in C BWV 545, and the last movement of the Sonata for Viola da Gamba and Cembalo BWV 1029 arranged as an organ

trio. The prelude and fugue both appear transposed into Bb major in the Cooke manuscript, Lcm MS 814. Cooke attributed the fugue to his predecessor at the Abbey, John Robinson. This could imply that Cooke copied from a manuscript in Robinson's hand. Did Robinson copy out the fugue BWV 545 so that he could play it? If Robinson played this fugue, did he play the original pedal line on a pedalboard?

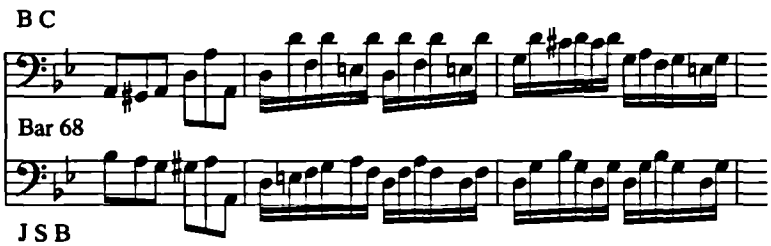
Satisfactory answers to these questions are not easy to find, and it may be tempting to leave them unexplored. However, by failing to answer the questions posed by this manuscript we may miss something useful. The following recent comments on the Lcm MS 814, which contains the prelude, trio and fugue, reiterate the obvious problems without attempting further explanation:

> 'Several points emerge from the consideration of this mysterious manuscript. First, Cooke must have realised after 20 years acquaintance with Robinson that he could not have written this work.

The writer continues with the assumption:

> Indeed the lack of pedals and the compass of the manuals on the Abbey organ would have prohibited its performance in Robinson's and Cooke's times. Did Robinson perhaps play it on a pedal harpsichord? How did it get to England in the first place? (Thomas 1993: 315)

Christopher Kent, in his article 'GG Compass Pedals and the British Organ Repertoire Before c.1850', helpfully points out a distinction between Cooke's own writing for pedals and that in the Bach pieces copied and arranged by Cooke. The 'Trio a 2 Clav. e. Pedal' [adapted from J. S. Bach BWV 1029, for viola da gamba and cembalo] closely follows BWV 1029, 3rd Mvt. Allegro. The viola da gamba is on the middle stave of the Cooke copy [B C] (still on the Tenor Clef) and the cembalo part now takes the two outer staves. Where the lower part is not idiomatic pedal writing it is adapted as shown in Example 5.



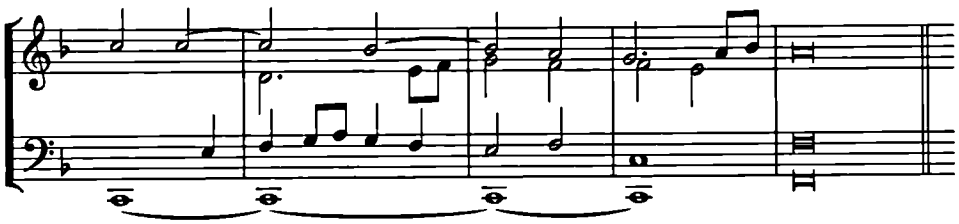
Ex. 5. J. S. Bach BWV 1029, Allegro (lower staff) and B. Cooke Lcm MS 814, bars 68-70.

The scalic and arpeggiated figures of keyboard writing that do not lend themselves to execution by the feet are rearranged to give a passage readily playable by using alternate toes on the pedalboard. This clearly suggests that the arranger had a practical interest in making this music playable on an organ with pedals. Did Cooke make this arrangement? For Cooke to have arranged in such an idiomatic way quite unlike his own compositional style, with no experience of the pedalboard Bach was used to, is unlikely (see Knight 2000) for a further discussion of Lcm MS 814).

In Lcm MS 807 there is a copy by Cooke of Georg Muffat's *Apparatus Musico-organisticus*, another work needing an organ with pedals, near other pieces dated 1779 and 1780 and probably copied at this time. Muffat's *Apparatus* needs pedals from C-a, a third more than the range required by pieces composed by Cooke (see Table 4.3, p. 95). No great demands are made on the player's technique since the feet generally play pedal points. There is no evidence to suggest Cooke adapted these pieces for any particular organ and he follows Muffat faithfully. The pedal notes are consistent with the facsimile of the 1691 engraving (Muffat nd).

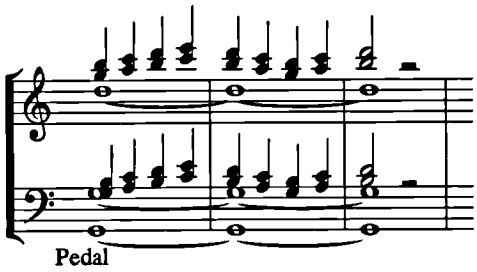
The Triforium Music contains evidence for pedals and the Shrider organ. All the possible pedal references in these books are given in Table 4.4 (p. 96), which includes places where the texture of the music appears to demand the pedal or where the word 'ped' or 'pedal' is added in the copyist's hand.

The first probable pedal note to appear is in the book Set 4b Organ 30, copied either during the period 1764-1789 or 1778-1784, and is from the final 5 bars of Nares in F, Magnificat (Example 6).



Ex. 6 Triforium Music, Set 4b Organ 30, p. 124

The Sanctus in J. Stafford-Smith's Short Service in C asks for a pedal, in a part book copied in 1805-1809 (Example 7).



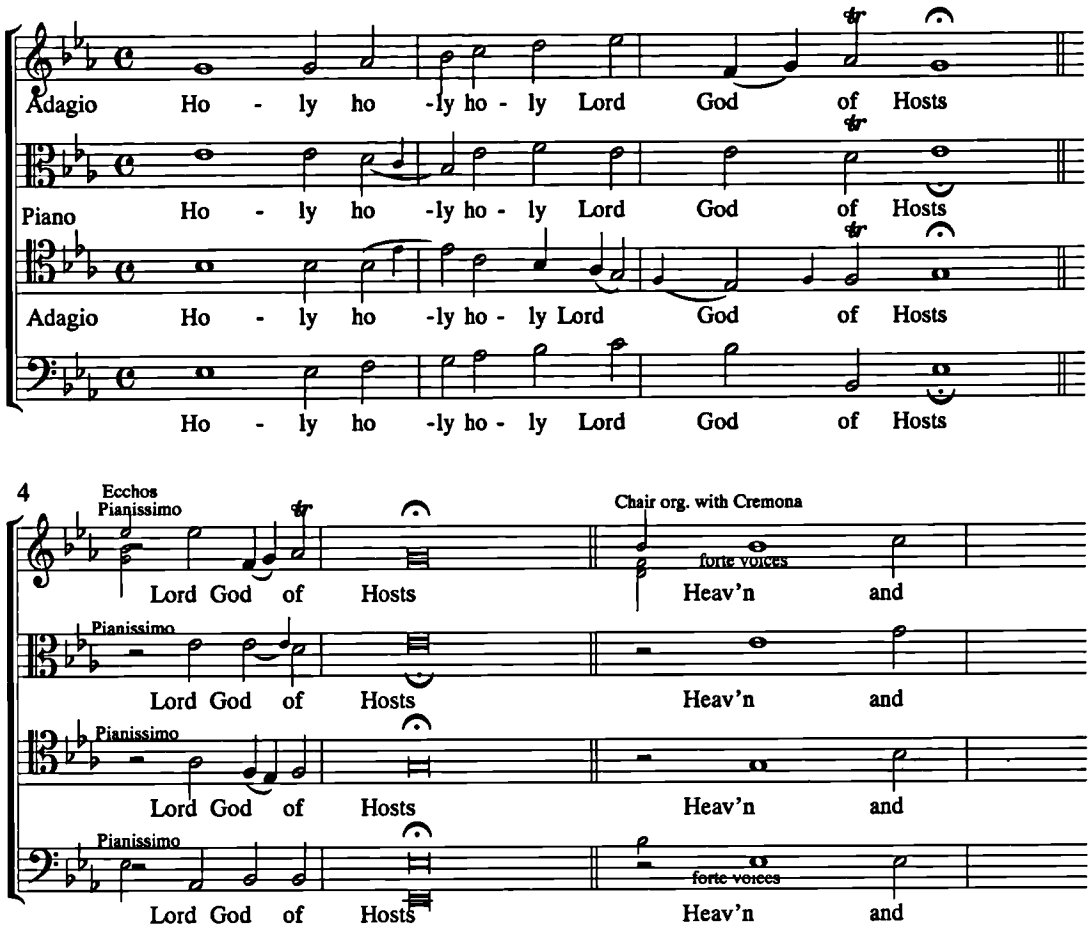
Ex. 7 Triforium Music, Set 5 Organ (unnumbered), p. 39

It appears that these books reflect contemporary rather than earlier performance practice. For example, the version of Purcell's 'O sing unto the Lord' in Set 5 Organ (unnumbered) has an indication for the use of the pedal G and C added by the copyist.

A pedalboard with a range from GG to e is needed to perform all the pedal notes indicated in the Triforium Music, with one exception. This is John Stafford Smith's Te Deum from the Short Morning Service in C, see Ex. 4.10 (p. 100). In this the notes FF# and EE are given to the pedal. Were these notes played? Did the copyist get carried away writing octaves? These are the only two occurrences of these notes and the only inconsistencies with the other pedal passages.

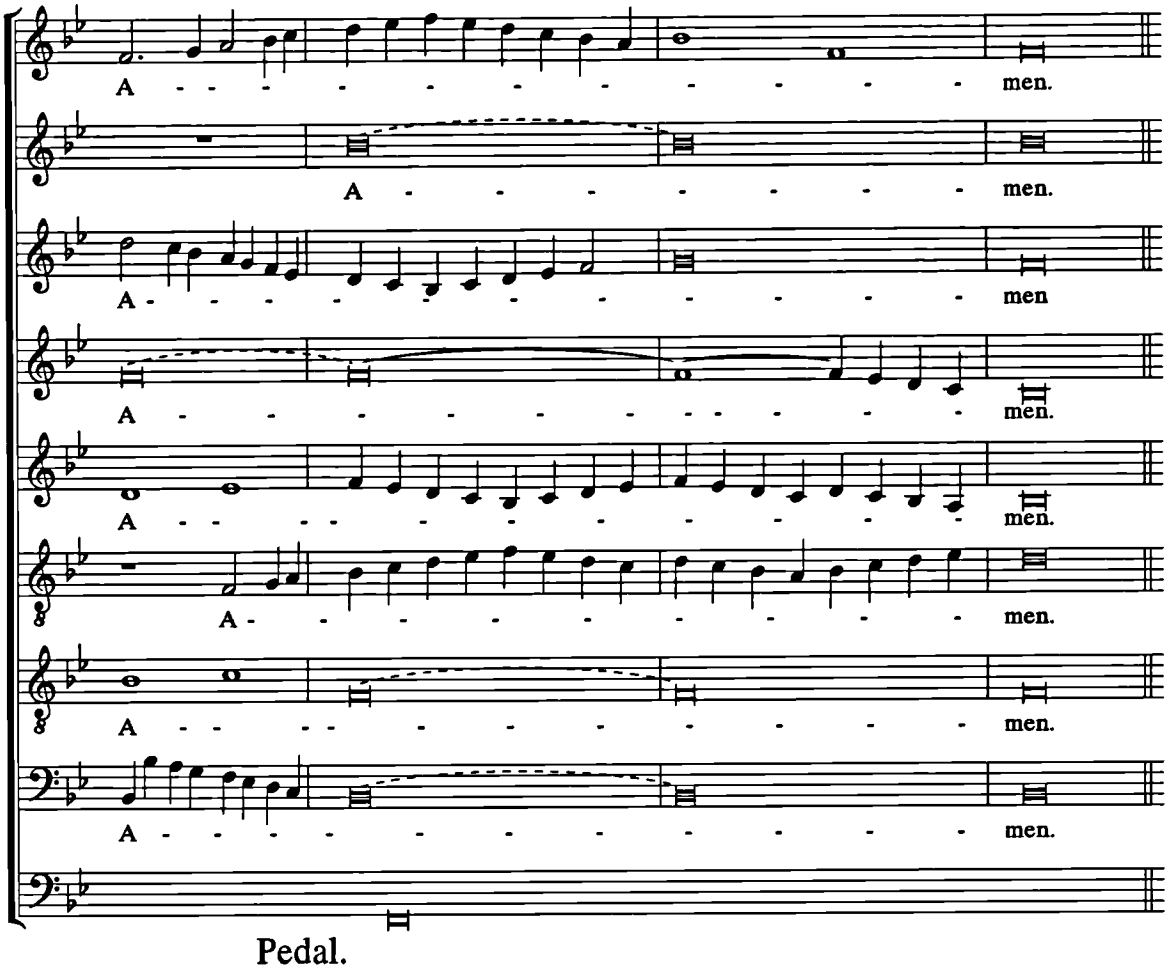
Triforium Music Set 7 contains only one book, which is described as a manuscript chant collection c.1760s-1780s by Ruth Wilson (Triforium Music catalogue, Lwa). It contains a Sanctus by Hudson (p. 8), with copious indications for the organist including 'Where tis mark'd piano design'd to be play'd on the Chair Organ / and where 'tis mark'd pianissimo

is design'd to be play'd on the Eccho's', and an indication for a Cremona stop on the Chair organ, shown in Example 8.



Ex. 8 Hudson, Sanctus, Triforium Music, Set 7, p. 8

Pages 9-11 of this book are a Sanctus by Benjamin Cooke. This piece concludes with an eight-part 'Amen' scored on nine staves, the ninth being given to an F which seems to imply a second inversion of the tonic chord, with the use of the pedal indicated. The end of the pedal note is not indicated, although it cannot be held under the final chord (Example 9).



Ex. 9 Benjamin Cooke, Sanctus, Triforium Music Set 7, p. 11

To perform all the pedal notes indicated in the Triforium Music a pedalboard with a range from GG to e is needed. The tables of Cooke voluntaries and the Triforium Music show the Abbey organ would have needed a pedalboard from GG-e to play this music. The agreement of these two sources tends to suggest that this was the compass of the pedalboard at the Abbey by the end of the eighteenth century. The evidence of the Cooke organ voluntaries suggests a date for this of at least 1771.

Therefore, from the tables of Cooke registrations and compass, and the registration indications in the copyist's hand in the Triforium Music, the following conclusions can be made about the Abbey organ by 1831:

- The organ had three manuals and pedals;
- the manual compass was GG-d^3 Long Octaves, with a Swell from g;
- there were pedals from GG-e.

When all the stops mentioned in the Cooke and Triforium Music registrations are listed, we find that the Abbey organ specification included:

Great:	Choir:
Open Diapason	Open Diapason
Stopped Diapason	Stopped Diapason
Principal	Flute
Twelfth	Principal
Fifteenth	Fifteenth
Cornet (c^1-d^3)	Cremona
Sesquialtera	
Trumpet	

Swell/ecchos [G,C] f-c^3: No clear registration indications are given. The term full Swell implies an echo to the Great chorus.

Pedal: No indication given. The pedal is used with both full organ and with manual Open and Stopped Diapasons only.

This list of stops is the same as Shrider's 1728 contract with the exception of the Open Diapason on the Choir which is included because of the use in Choir organ registrations of the term 'Diapasons', referring to both Open and Stopped Diapasons. The compass of the Swell organ has been extended at some time below middle c, its lowest note in 1728.

In the opening chapter of *The Making of the Victorian Organ* Nicholas Thistlethwaite wrote, 'in moving forward to the early-nineteenth century the casual observer could be forgiven for concluding that the design of the English organ had altered little in the seventy or eighty years leading up to 1820' (Thistlethwaite 1990: 4). He demonstrates this with a discussion of the 1821 Lincoln organ at Thaxted Parish Church, an organ that has many features typical of its time. By comparison with the Lincoln organ, Shrider's 1730 instrument at the Abbey is in line with the direction of British organ building for the rest of the eighteenth century. Features of Shrider's stop list which were to persist for the next eighty or so years included the provision of a Clarion on the Great, the provision of a solo reed (the Vox Humana) in the Echo/Swell division in place of the Cornet, the extension of the Swell organ into the tenor octave, and the addition of pedal pipes during the century would have kept this instrument in line with new developments (Thistlethwaite 1990: 9-14). The Cremona as a solo reed on the Choir, and the gilding of the case pipes, were further features of contemporary practice (Bicknell 1996: 172).

Conclusions

The new Shrider instrument, opened in 1730, saw a great change in the Abbey organ both architecturally and musically. Architecturally it was moved from a discreet location at the north of the choir to a central location on the screen over the entrance to the choir. Although known at an earlier date in other institutions, at the Abbey this central position had a special significance, with the King's gift of the organ taking a central place in the church thereby reflecting the eighteenth-century link between the church and state. Musically, the old-fashioned organ, dating to before the Restoration, was replaced by one in a style which was to hold sway in England for the rest of the century. It was based on a large Great organ, with a smaller Chair organ of the same compass as the Great, and a short compass Swell manual. After it was rebuilt by Jordan, the Swell had a typical specification of Open Diapason, Stopped Diapason, Trumpet and Oboe.

The Shrider organ first saw pedals introduced at Westminster Abbey, although the details of this are not clear. Music composed by Cooke in 1771 implies that he had access to an organ with pedals. He consistently writes for a pedalboard with a compass of GG-e, which with a unique exception, is congruent with the pedal requirements of the organ parts in the Triforium Music. No original written documents support or oppose this view.

The eighteenth century saw the choral repertoire at Westminster Abbey expand, gaining pieces by contemporary, Restoration and Reformation composers, with the greatest emphasis on the earlier and later composers. This expansion was well underway in the time of John Robinson, and is a reflection of the growing interest in ancient music taking place in organisations such as the Academy of Ancient Music, which had links with the Abbey through its directors.

During 1793 to 1831 various unspecified works were carried out on the organ by the builders Avery and Elliot. It is not possible to make suggestions about the nature of these changes from written archival or manuscript music sources, so the next section on the organ post-1831 will take stock of the instrument Hill found at the Abbey, before it underwent great enlargement and alteration by him in 1848.

Specifications and Compass, the Shrider Organ.

Benjamin Cooke

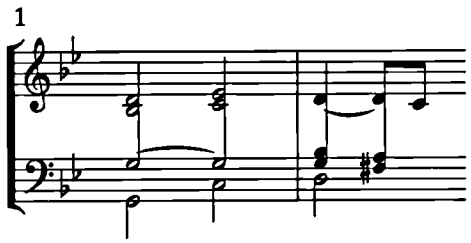
Table 4.1 Published Music

Cooke, B. *Fugues and Other Pieces for the Organ composed by the Late Dr. Cooke Book 1*, (London, [1819])

Notes on movements which are not transcribed in appendix 1, checked against the manuscript where identified.

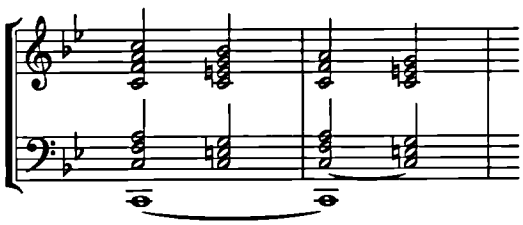
p. 8-14 'Fugue &c For The Organ', g minor, Ex. 1.1 opening.

Source: Lcm MS 817, f. 56r-57r, '15 October 1773, Dorset Court'.



Ex.1.1

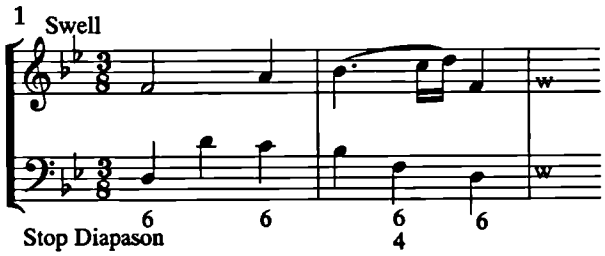
Pedal C implied in bars 27-29 Ex. 1.2



Ex. 1.2

'Lively', 'principal 15 & 12 added to the Diapasons', '16 October, 1773'

Movement for the Swell organ, opening Ex. 1.3, Only the first bar is in Lcm MS 817, f. 57r.

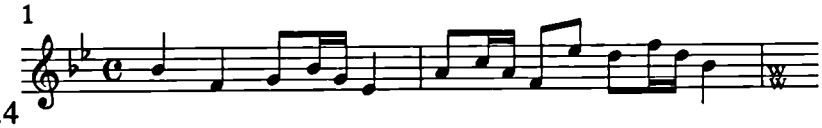


Ex. 1.3

RH Swell
LH Stop Diapason, with figured bass

3/8 time, written in crochets.
Does the figured bass scoring show thinking in terms of a vocal aria with the melody on the 'expressive' Swell organ?

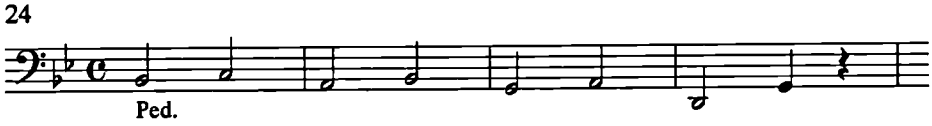
Fugue in B flat, Ex. 1.4 Subject, Lcm MS 817, f 52r-53v, May 30, 1774.



Ex. 1.4

The following pedal indications are not in this manuscript. However, since the voluntaries were prepared for publication c. 1819 by Robert Cooke who was also an Abbey organist they are given here:

Pedal indicated bars 24-27, Ex. 1.5



Ex. 1.5

and bars 40-42, Ex. 1.6

Ex. 1.6

and bars 49 to the end, Ex. 1.7

Ex. 1.7

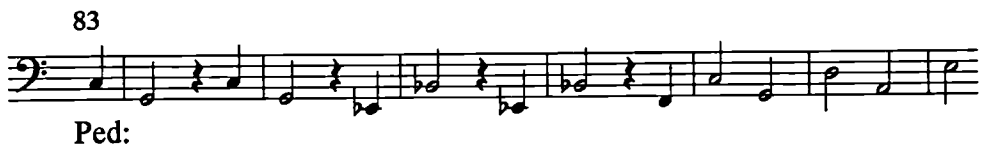
Cooke, B. *Fugues and Other Pieces for the Organ composed by the Late Dr. Cooke Book 2,* (London, [1819])

p. 6-9 Fugue in C Maj

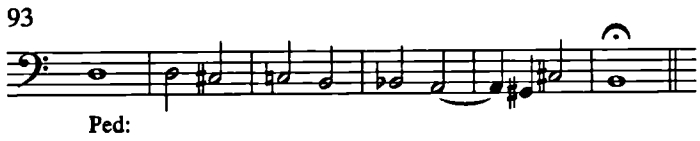
Lcm MS 817, f. 54, Fugue in C for Organ, August 30, 1773, Dorset Court.

The pedal indications are all editorial (see note above).

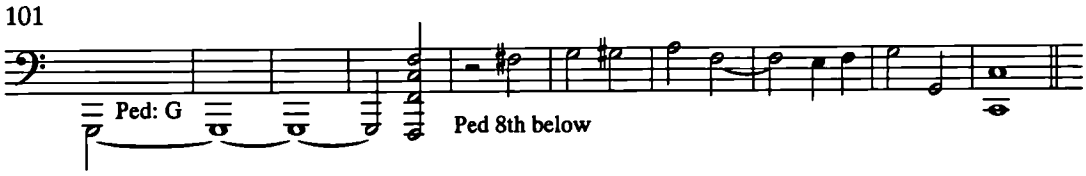
Fugue: Pedal notes bars	19	minim d
	57-59	A,d,BB
	83-90	Ex. 1.16



Ex. 1.8



Ex. 1.9



Ex. 1.10

Table 4.2: Benjamin Cooke's Music in the Royal College of Music Manuscripts

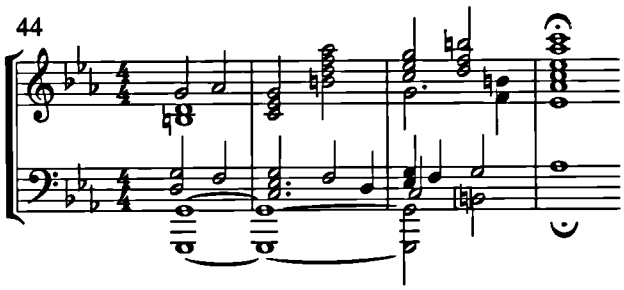
Lcm MS 810 Dr. B. Cooke's Collections Vol IV

Eighteenth-century Obl. Fol. ff 125 including some autograph.

1. FF 1-9 A set of Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsichord. [Greenwich and Dorset Court, July 1771] B. Cooke. See also Appendix 1 (i/197-241).

Folio	*Title*	*Manuals*	*Compass*
	Registration		
	Autograph Date- if any		
1r.	**Adagio**	1m.	GG,BB,D,E^b-d^3
	Diapasons	ped	GG, G

Pedal Note, GG, bars 44-46, Ex. 2.1



Ex 2.1

1v.	**Allegro e Staccato**	1m.	GG,AA^b-c^3
	Diapasons, Principal, Fifteenth		
2r.	**Andante**	2m.	Chair G-c^3
	Stop Diapason - Chair		Swell e^1-c^3 OR f-c^3

Note: The manual indications written between the staves are sometimes ambiguous. The Swell range cannot be accurately established from this voluntary. If the tenor clef is used exclusively for the Swell in this voluntary the Swell goes down to f.

2v.	**Minuet Allegro**	1m.	C-d^3
	Full Organ without Reed stops		
	The Diapasons, Principal and Fifteenth		
2v.	**Lively March**	1m.	GG,C,D-c^3
	With all the Reed stops &c		
	Signed: B.C. Greenwich July 13, 1771		
2c.	**Slow - Diapasons**	1m+p	GG,C-b^b
	Diapasons	ped.	GG
2c.	**Slow - Trumpet**	3m.	F-c^3
	Great Organ: Trumpet		
2d.	**ad libitum - sprightly, not too quick**	2(3)m.	GG,AA^b,BB^b-d^3
	Trump[et], Cornet (e^{b1}(or b^b)-d^3		
	Trumpet, Principal, Twelfth, Sesquialtera		
	Chair: soft		

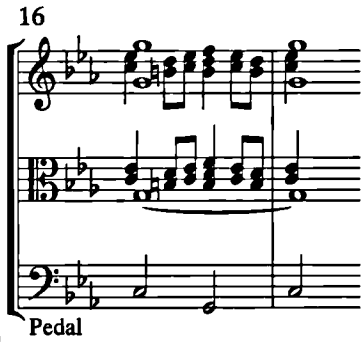
Eccho's - Probably a reference to a Swell organ

Note: The Cornet and Sesquialtera ranges are not clear from this, although the Cornet is only used with Trumpet solos in the treble range.

3v. **March** 1m.+p.

See Ex. 2.2 for pedal. Pedal Notes: $BB^{b},E^{b},G,B^{b},C,e^{b}$

Signed: B C. July 17, 1771 Greenwich & [Dorset Court]



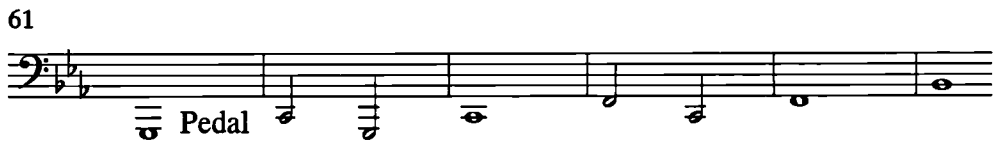
Ex. 2.2

4r. **Fugue for the Organ** [C minor] 1m.+p. BB^{b},CC,D^{b}-d^{3}

Full Pedal: $GG,AA^{b},BB^{b},CC,D,E^{b},G$

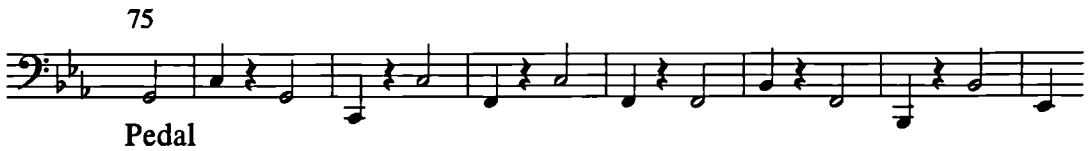
Signed: July 18 1771 Greenwich

Pedal clearly needed but not specified bars 49-53, Ex. 2.3



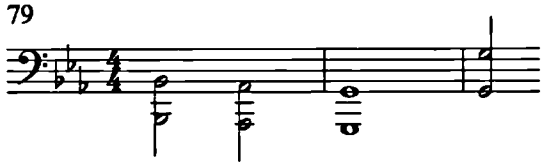
Ex. 2.4

and also in bars 63-70, Ex. 2.4



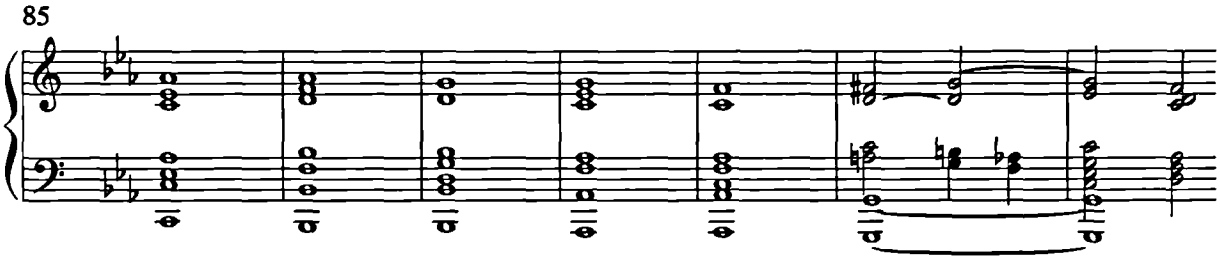
Ex. 2.4

Pedal is indicated in Bars 79-81, Ex. 2.5



Ex. 2.5 Pedal

and pedals are implied at the conclusion of the piece, bars 85-94, Ex. 2.6



Ex. 2.6

Note. At top of score on left: Copy to Gretorex / & Rock & Evance. At top of score on right: Mem:^{dum} befor this fugue / insert the first movement from the / overture of Adam & Eve transposed. (i/241)

5r. **Allegro** [Cornet Voluntary] 3m. C-d^3
Cornet c^1-d^3 Ecchos g-c^3
Stop Diapason, Flute, Principal - Accompaniment
Signed: July 18 1771 Greenwich

6r. **Voluntary for the Organ, Slow** 1m+p Pedal: GG,C,D^b
Diapasons
Diapasons, Principal

6v. **Trumpet Stop, not too fast** 3m. E^b-d^3(possibly e^{b3})
Trumpet Eccho's b^b-g^2
Signed: July 13 1771 Greenwich & Dorset Gardens

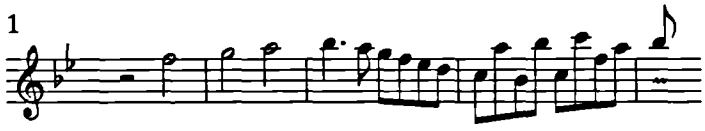
7r. **Siciliana** 1m. C-c^3

At top of score: This and the next movement must follow the Cornet piece

7v. **Rondeau** E-d^3

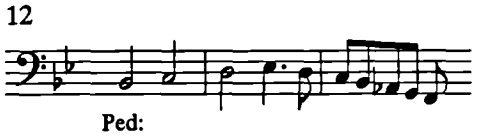
8r. **Fugue in Bb** 1m+p GG-d^3
ped BBb-eb

This fugue has the subject , Ex. 2.7, in the pedal, Ex. 2.8 and 2.9:



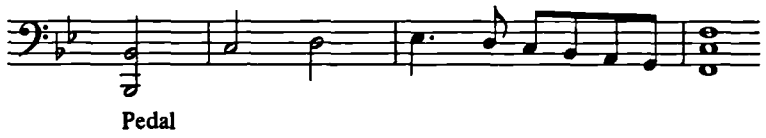
Ex. 2.7

compare with pedal line Ex. 2.8, pedal indicated bars 12-15:



Ex. 2.8

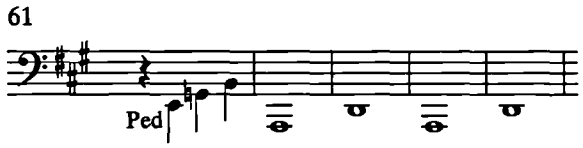
The Subject also appears in the pedal at the end of the fugue: Ex. 2.9 bars 87-90:



Ex. 2.9

10r. **Fugue in A** 1m+p AA,C#-d3
ped AA,D,E,G,B

Pedal indicated bars 61-65 Ex. 2.10



Ex. 2.10

11v. **Canon 2 in one** 3m G-d3
Great: Diapasons and Principal
Chair Diapasons, Principal & Fifteenth
Ecchos: full c1-d3
Signed: B. C. Sept. 26 1774 Dorset Gardens.

Lcm MS 807

109 r. **I heard a great voice** [anthem] Chorus 'Praise our God, all ye his servants praise' has pedal notated on a third stave from bar 11 to the end. The pedal notes used are BBb,C,D,Eb,F,G.

Lcm MS 820 Dr. B. Cooke's Collections Vol. XIII

20v. **Organ Fugue in G,** unfinished. 2 staves. G-c3
Titled: Westminster Abbey Oct:br 18 1779

21v. **Organ fugue in C,** unfinished. 2 staves. C-d3
Titled: Westminster Abbey Nov: 19 1780

22v. **Organ fugue in Bb,** unfinished. 2 staves. F-c3
Dated: Oct. 22 1780

71ff **A Set of German Lessons for the organ with Pedals consisting of 12 Toccatas.** Believ'd to be in print. The Author's name forgot. [This is a copy of G. Muffat's *Apparatus-Musico-organisticus.* See Table 4.3 (p. 95) for the pedal notes in this.]

fol. autograph ff. 99 written 1745-51 [when Cooke was Robinson's assistant at the Abbey]

Exercises in Harmony, Composition, Canon, etc. By Benjamin Cooke, probably when studying under Johann Christoph Pepusch, who is probably the composer of the Canon headed 'The Doctor's' (ff. 81v. 83 etc.)

52 **Organ Piece in F** G-f^2
Diapasons
Cornet c^1-c^3 (but g is used in last 2 bars)

53 **Organ Piece in C** C-g^2
Diapasons
Cornet c^1-B^{b2}

53v. **Organ Piece in C** C-a^2
Diapasons
Cornet d^1-c^3
The Dates Jan 8, 1749/8 and Jan 12, 1749/8 are written at the top of the page on left and right hand sides respectively.

54r. **Organ Piece in C** C-c^3
Diapasons
Trumpet (with loud/soft effects. It is not stated if this is for the accompanimental manual or for an Echo, or by taking off stops.)

54v. **Organ Piece in G** D-d^2
Diapason & Flute

Table 4.3: Georg Muffat Apparatus musico-organisticus

Copied by Cooke in Lcm MS 820.

Muffat wrote on 2 staves, with the notes for the pedal being indicated by writing 'Pedal' under them. They are invariably long held notes under faster manual notes. The demands made for the pedals by Muffat are given below:

Toccata prima: D,A,Bb,B,c#,d

Toccata secunda: C,D,Eb,F,G,A,Bb,[D]

Toccata tertia: [C,D],E,F,A,c,c#,d,e,f#,a

Toccata quinta: C,G,A

Toccata sexta: C,E,F,A,Bb,B,c

Toccata septima: C,D,E,F,G,A,B,c

Toccata octava: D,E,F,G,

Toccata nona: E,F,B,e,f#,g

Toccata decima: D,E,G,

Toccata undecima: F,G,B,c,d,eb,f,

Toccata duodecima et ultima: C,E,F,G,A,B,Bb,f

Summary of pedal range used by Muffat:

Notes used: C,D,Eb,E,F,G,A,Bb,B,c,c#,d,eb,e,f,f#,g,a

This gives a pedal compass from C-a including at least five accidentals (Eb,Bb,c#,eb,f#). (Austrian organs often had only one octave of pipes over one and a half octaves of keys, so C-B of C-a, therefore some pipes were used for more than one key.) The range of keys used by Muffat is the reason for the other chromatic notes not being asked for, and their absence or presence does not reflect in any way the instrument on which Cooke played the pieces after he had copied them.

Table 4.4 Triforium Music: Westminster Abbey Library

Set 3, Organ 20

Copied by John Church (1707-1731) and Chelsum (1735-1741)

This volume contains no directions for Pedal in the copyists's hand.

Parts copied by Church, before 1731.

The layout tends to be figured bass for solos, and figured bass and top line for choruses.

REGISTRATION INDICATIONS: only those in the copyist's hand are mentioned.

Evidence for changing of manuals between loud/soft organ e.g. 'Thou o God art praised in Sion' (Dr. Green) pp. 76,79

p. 84 'I will seek unto God. in D Sol re# Dr. Green'

p. 84 'Diapasons & Principal, not too slow'.

p. 93-97 'O Sing unto the Lord Solo for a Boy J. Church'

p. 93 Swelling stop f^1-a^2
Loud Organ} both full compass
Soft Organ}

p. 94 'Praise ye Lord upon &c'
Loud Organ, brisk
Cornet d^1-$b\flat^2$, accompanied by Soft [organ]
Loud Organ

p. 95 'With trumpets also & shawms'
RH - Trumpet Stop, brisk movement
LH - Loud Organ

'O Shew yourselves joyful'
Alternates Loud/Soft Organ

Ritornello before chorus
RH alternates: loud - eccho
LH Soft [Organ]

p. 96 'With righteousness &c'
Cornet e^1-c^3

Parts Copied by Chelsum, after 1731

p. 118-119 'O Give Thanks, Tucker'

bar 24: 'Chair Org' in pencil added later [19th C]

p. 119-121 'O Give Thanks, Dr. Aldrich'

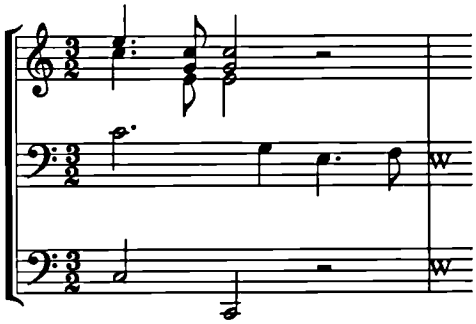
Indications for Soft/Full added by copyist.

Set 3a Organ 5

Copied by Hiller (1746-1760) and from p. 3 onwards John Buswell (1762-164).

p. 132-144 'Ascribe unto the Lord, Mr. Frayers'

p. 143 bar 6 Ex. 4.1.



Ex. 4.1

This could not be stretched comfortably, but c.f. Ex. 4.3 the use of pedal here should not be assumed because there are three staves. The third stave gives help with separating chorus and organ parts.

Set 3a Book 8

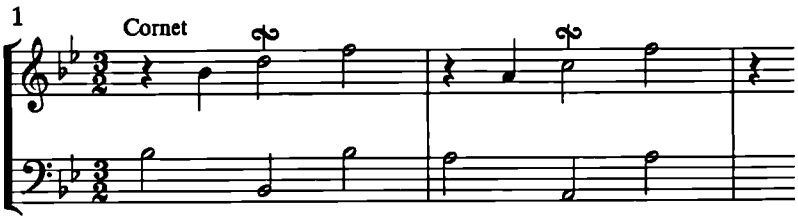
Copied by John Buswell, 1762-1764.

p. 145-146 'Praise the Lord, o Jerusalem, Jeremiah Clarke'

p. 147 Vox Humaine Stop is added in pencil, possibly in contemporary hand.

p. 190 'Lord how are they increased, Mr. Buswell'

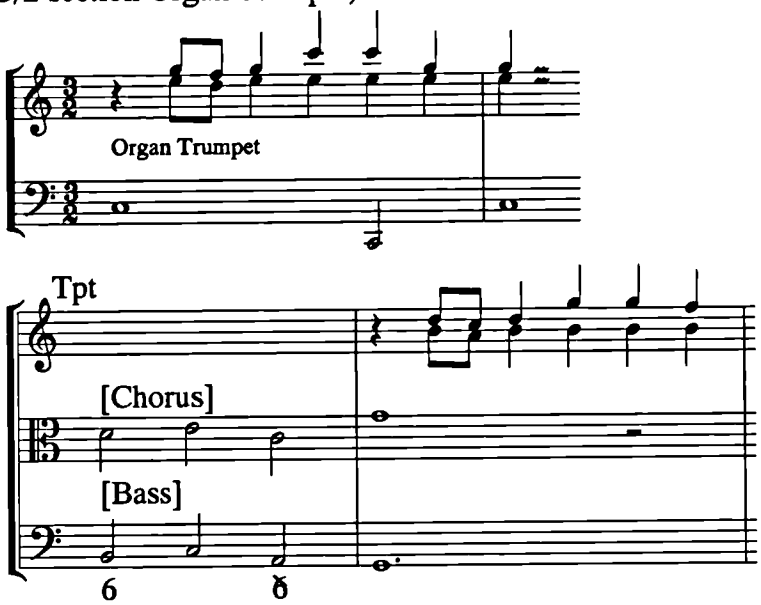
p. 195 Cornet solo, Ex. 4.2. range e^1-f^2, Ex. 4.2



Ex. 4.2

p. 242 'If we believe that Jesus died, Dr. Boyce'

p. 244, 3/2 section Organ Trumpet, Ex. 4.3.



Ex. 4.3 Note three stave scoring to show trumpet and chorus parts clearly.

Set 4 Organ 10

copied 1762-c.1788

p. 2-8 'The Trumpet shall sound'

written on three staves: Trumpet [Organ]
Voice
Bass [Organ]

p. 25-32 (from back) 'Te Deum' from 'Mr Kent's Morning Service in C'

p. 30 'Choir organ' in copyist's hand.

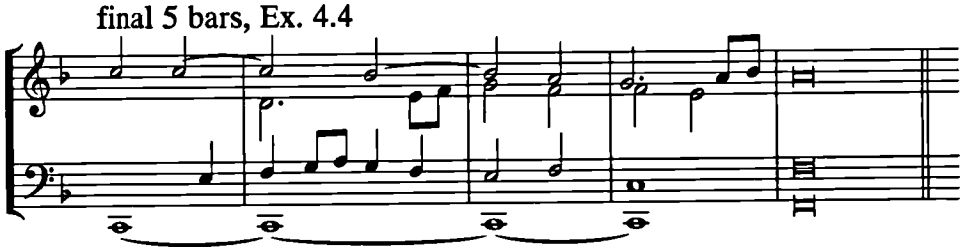
Set 4b Organ 30

Copied c.1764-1789 (or 1778-1784)

p. 108-128 Nares in F

p. 124 Gloria to the Magnificat

final 5 bars, Ex. 4.4



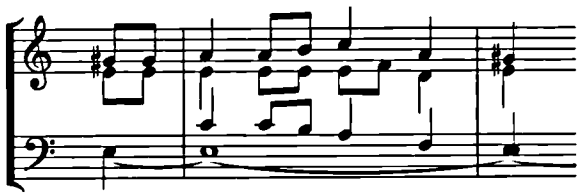
Ex. 4.4, Pedal C is needed, repeated again on p. 127 in Gloria to the Nunc Dimittis.

Set 5 Organ 35

Copied 1798 on.

p. 97-99 'O God whose nature and property, Mr. Bellamy'

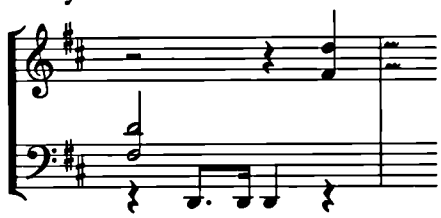
p. 98-99 Ex. 4.5.



Ex. 4.5 The e held for 5 bars 1 beat could be for the pedal.

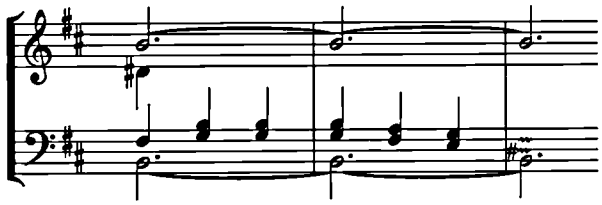
p. 182-186 'Cantate Domino', Dr. Arnold's Service in D 1798

p. 184 3rd system Ex. 4.6



Ex. 4.6 possible pedal note

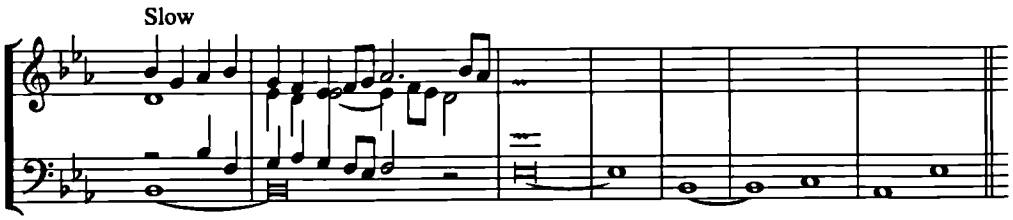
p. 185 4th system Ex. 4.7



Ex. 4.7 B held for 5 bars, possibly. in pedal

p. 261-2 Nunc Dimittis, 'Ayrton's in Eb'

p. 261 Ex. 4.8



Ex. 4.8 Pedal passage at end of Gloria, long notes under moving texture.

p. 264-5 'I will arise, J. Marsh'

symphony, Largo RH Swell pia (C-b^{b})
LH Stop: Diap: & Flute

Set 5 Organ (unnumbered)

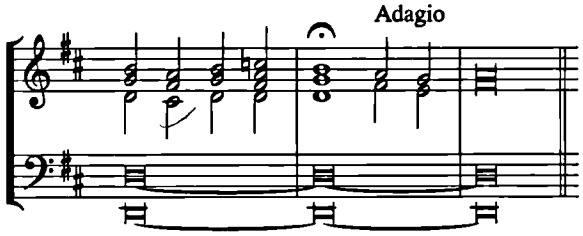
Copied 1805-1809

p. 1-6 'Give the king Thy judgments, Dr. Ayrton'

p. 1 Organ Trumpett Stop C-c^3
p. 2 Larghetto - Organ Swell or Diapasons d^1-a^{b3} (G if LH for Swell)
p. 4 Possible pedal notes e,A,d,G,C - but if need be they could be played by LH.

p. 17-19 Marsh in D 'Jubilate'

Ex. 4.9



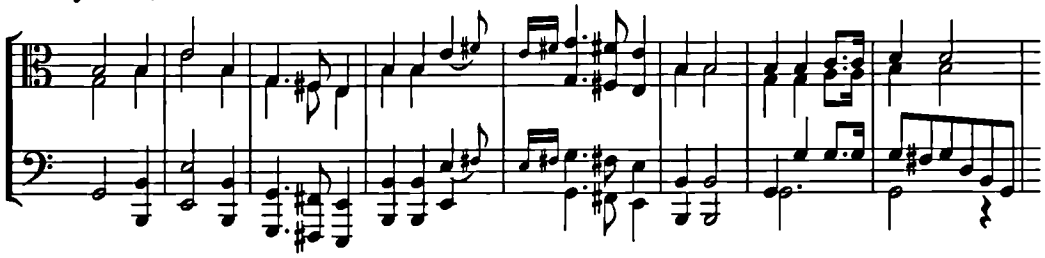
ex. 4.9 pedal A,D to end piece

p. 32-33 'A Short Morning Service in C by John Stafford Smith'

pedal C,D,G held under moving texture, prob. by pedals.

p. 35 Te Deum

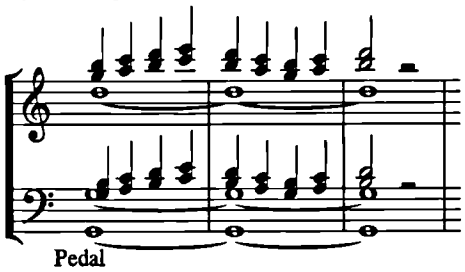
last system, Ex. 4.10



Ex. 4.10 Note the $FF^{\#}$ & EE.

p. 38-39 Sanctus

p. 39 2nd system, pedal asked for - Ex. 4.11



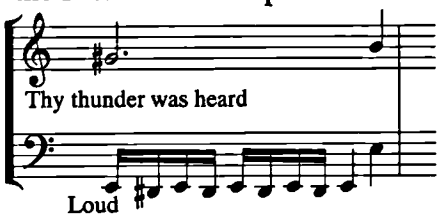
Ex. 4.11

p. 44-48 'I will call upon the Lord, Ch[arle]s Ja[me]s Dare'

Stop Diapason, Choir organ - at opening.
Pedal C,D p. 44 system 3 bar 4,5

p. 71-76 'Bless God, O my soul, J S Smith'

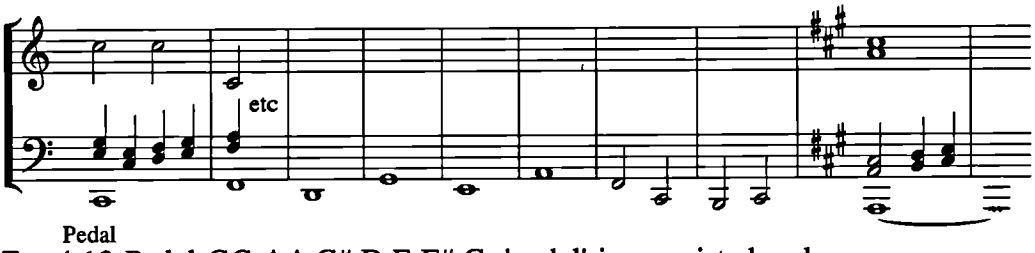
Although it is not indicated for the pedal, it is tempting to ask if Ex. 4.12 shows the first written-out pedal trill?



Ex. 4.12, p. 73, 2nd system, bar 4

p. 133-139 Te Deum 'Smith's in A'

p. 134 2nd system ex 4.13



Ex. 4.13 Pedal GG,AA,C#,D,E,F#,G, 'pedal' in copyists hand.

p. 143-152 'I will alway give thanks, C F Evans'

p. 144 2nd system pedal BB, E possible - long held notes under moving texture.
p. 150 - similar passage to Ex. 10 8^{ve}s on lower stave, possibly for pedal.

p. 163-171 'O sing unto the Lord, H Purcell'

p. 168 3rd system & p. 170 last system, the copyist has asked for pedal G
p. 171 Pedal C is indicated.

5

The Organs used for Coronation Services 1661-1838, Special Events at the Abbey, and the Music Performed

The kings and queens of England are married and buried in the Abbey, and since the coronation of William the Conqueror every sovereign has been crowned there, with the exception of Edward V and Edward VIII (Carpenter 1972: 409). There have been thirty-eight coronations at the Abbey, ten between 1661-1838:

Monarch	Date of Coronation
Charles II	23 April 1661
James II	23 April 1685
William and Mary	11 April 1689
Anne	23 April 1702
George I	20 October 1714
George II	11 October 1727
George III	22 September 1761
George IV	29 July 1821
William IV	28 September 1831
Victoria	28 June 1838

There are many histories of the coronation service and the regalia, but, apart from Sandford's 1685 account, they all pass over the musical portion of the service. With the exception of a paper given by Dom Anselm Hughes to the Royal Musical Association in 1953, no systematic attempt at identifying composers of the coronation anthems has been published.

The Coronation Organ

From the Restoration until the coronation of Victoria in 1838 an organ was provided specially for each coronation in a gallery built for the musicians. The centrally-placed main organ was removed for the service from 1761 on. This provided more space in the Abbey, most notably for the State trumpeters and drummers who performed from the screen (e.g. Ashmole and Sandford 1761: 11), and allowed more spectators a view of the ceremony.

The Abbey passes out of the control of the Dean and Chapter for a coronation service and effectively becomes property of the crown. The arrangements for the coronation, including the fittings in the Abbey and the organ, are the concern of the government and the College

of Arms, under the Earl Marshall. Therefore the organ used is the concern of the state, administered through the Office of Works, later called the Ministry of Works.

The coronation organ was part of the orchestra that took part in the service and from the Restoration and until the nineteenth century was smaller than the main instrument because it did not take the full burden of accompanying the singers. It was often provided by the organ builder responsible for the main organ at the time. Except for the coronation of George III, specifications for these instruments are not preserved and details about the coronation organs have to be gleaned from various written and iconographic sources. The provision of a temporary coronation organ has already been identified (e.g. Holman 1993: 400) but the removal of the Abbey organ has not been discussed.

The music performed

There is no systematic record of the music performed at coronation services. Victoria's coronation in 1838 was the first when a list of the music performed was published in advance and has survived. Therefore, establishing the titles and composers of the coronation anthems from the Restoration until George IV is not a straightforward task. Their words can be established from the service books, but these do not identify the composers. The account of James II's coronation written by Francis Sandford is the only one with a list of anthems and composers. A pioneering start at identifying the coronation music was made by L. E. Tanner, one time Librarian of Westminster Abbey who compiled a list of the anthems performed at the coronation services from Charles I to Elizabeth II (WAMS 58,524; ii/427). From Charles I to William III this list is mainly derived from accounts of the service written many years after the event. Tanner had access to the manuscript notes of George Smart, who directed the music for William IV and Victoria, and to printed service books with the music in vocal score for the twentieth-century coronations. Tanner's list was published with additional material by Dom Anselm Hughes as an appendix to his 1953 RMA lecture 'Music of the Coronation over a Thousand Years'.

Since Hughes' 1953 lecture further research into some of the coronation service music has been published, mostly by Donald Burrows and Bruce Wood. Service books were printed

for each coronation and Lambeth Palace library has these from most coronations, often including the copy used by the Archbishop during the service. In the following discussion the source closest in time to the event is given most authority in the identification of the music performed.

Charles II (23 April 1661)

After the austere Puritan-style worship of the Commonwealth the coronation of Charles II was the first large-scale opportunity for the reintroduction of instrumental and choral music in a church service. Therefore, when the diarist John Evelyn, present in the Abbey for this service, described the '... Anthems & rare musique playing with *lutes, Viols, Trumpets, Organs, Voices* &c' (Evelyn 1959: 422), he may not have had the opportunity to see such a spectacle before, since he was only five years old for the coronation of Charles I.

Sir Edmund Knight wrote an *Account...* of Charles II's coronation that includes a description of the staging for some of the musicians and an organ:

> Upon the right hand of the Staires comeing up to the stage whereon the Throne was placed, was a large scaffold provided for the Knights of the Bath & Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber; And opposite to that another scaffold for the six clerks, Aldermen of London, Masters of the Chancery, Attorney & Solicitor Generall, Sergeants at Law Esq^{res}. of the Body, and all the Iudges; vpon the top whereof neare the Organ some of the Quier were placed (Knight 1820: 82).

From this we learn that some of the choir sat to the left of this stage (i.e. the north of the Abbey) and 'neare the Organ', which implies that the main Abbey organ, at the east end of the north choir aisle, was in the Abbey during the service. The arrangement of the musicians for this service on galleries to the north and south sides of the Abbey is described by Peter Holman:

> Verse anthems with strings by Cooke were performed in a polychoral manner, with the main choir in a gallery on the north side of the Abbey, the 'Violins and other instrumental music' in a gallery next to them, and a small choir of 'twelve Gentlemen, four Children, and one Organist' (who presumably took the verse passages) in 'a gallery, raised on the South-side of the Upper Quire, peculiarly appointed for them' (Holman 1993: 400, citing Ashmole *A Brief narrative of the Solemn Rites and Ceremonies Performed upon the Day of our Sovereign Lord King Charles II* pp. 172, 186).

Taken together we can conclude that there were two organs in the Abbey during the coronation. A warrant for the livery of John Hingeston 'Master of the Organs' dated April 12 1661 survives (Ashbee 1986: 15-6); the other organist is not identified.

John Ogilby published an account of the service in 1662, a year after the event, which lists the following anthems:

I was glad (Psalm 122 Vs. 1,4,5,6), by the whole choir	p 173
Let thy hand, by the Gentlemen of the King's Chapel	p 173-4
Come Holy Ghost	p 176
The Litany, the choirs singing the responses	p 176
Zadok the priest	p 178
The king shall rejoice, the Quires	p 180
Te Deum	p 182
Behold O Lord our defender, the Gentlemen of the King's Chapel	p 184
Let my prayer come up	p 184
O hearken unto the voice, the upper choir	p 185

(Ogilby 1662)

This list contains anthems that were part of the liturgy for every coronation service: 'I was glad', 'Come Holy Ghost', the Litany, 'Zadok the priest' and the Te Deum. The choice of the other anthems depended on whether there was Communion, if there was a queen consort or if the monarch was a queen regnant. The selection listed above is from 1661.

One significant difference to this list of music was published on the centenary of the coronation in 1761 which includes:

Creed, after Gospel, set as verse anthem:

> After which the Nicene Creed was begun by the Bishop of London, and sung by the Gentlemen of the Chapel, with Verse and Chorus, the Violins and other music playing alternately (Ashmole & Sandford 1761: 24).

This fascinating reference supports the work of Peter Dennison who, as reported in his *Grove 6* article 'Henry Cooke', found a verse setting by Cooke of the Nicene Creed (*Grove 6*, 4/711). The use of the phrase 'playing alternately' is typical of seventeenth-century usage, and suggests that an unidentified earlier source was drawn upon. Ashmole and Sandford's comment 'Recess the Organs playing all the while' is part of the formulaic description of the service.

Who composed these anthems? All the special music for this service was once attributed to Henry Cooke (Hughes 1953: 87). More recently Ian Cheverton was closer to the truth when he said Cooke composed an 'unknown quantity' of music for it (Cheverton 1982: 74). Henry Cooke (c1615-1672) was Master of the Chapel Royal in 1660, and composer of the King's Private Music. He composed 32 anthems as well as settings of the Nicene Creed and the Burial sentences, though only 13 are extant (*Grove 6,* 4/711). He was therefore in the right place to receive commissions to compose for the coronation. Music composed by Cooke said to have been written for this service includes 'Behold, O Lord our defender', verse anthem with strings (Spink 1995: 108). The verse anthem 'Let my prayer come up', the full anthem 'O hearken unto the voice', and a setting of the Nicene Creed were probably also composed by Cooke for this service, and are all now lost (*Grove 6,* 4/711).

Henry Lawes's anthem 'Zadok the priest', which was written for Charles II's, coronation is in the Bing/Gostling part books (Spink 1995: 281, 106). There is an organ part in Osj MS 215, p. 209, consisting of the bass and the medius parts, leaving the organist to provide the inner parts (Roast 1984: np.). In Clifford James's *Divine Services...* this anthem is headed 'For the Coronation-day' (Clifford 1663: 221). William Child's 'The king shall rejoice', which was written for this coronation, is in WRch MS 2 with Child's Short Service in F. This may indicate that the unidentified Te Deum sung at this coronation was Child's in F (Spink 1995: 375). 'Come Holy Ghost' and the Litany were sung to traditional plainsong at many coronations and this use has been tentatively suggested in the summary below.

Combining these references gives the following music for the coronation of Charles II:

Bold indicates surviving anthems

I was glad (Ps 72 Vv 1,4,5,6)	
Let thy hand be strengthened	
Veni Creator Spiritus	Plainsong
Zadok the priest	**Henry Lawes**
The Litany	Plainsong
The king shall rejoice	**William Child**
Te Deum	**William Child**
Behold, O Lord our defender	**Henry Cooke**
Creed	Henry Cooke
Let my prayer come up	Henry Cooke

O hearken unto the voice Henry Cooke
The Recess '... the Organs playing all the while'

James II (23 April 1685)

A detailed account of the coronation of James II is preserved in Francis Sandford's *History of the Coronation...,of James II..* which includes plans of the layout of the Abbey for the service and engravings of the ceremony. These show us the musical resources used, which are described by Sandford:

> The Children and Gentlemen of his majesty's Chapel repair in the mean time to the Galleries appointed for them on each side of the Sacrarium, or Area, before the Altar, viz. The Vocal musick to the Gallery between the two uppermost Pillars, on the South-side of the Altar, and the instrumental Musick to the Gallery on the North Side of the said Area, In the Arch next to the Pulpit (Sandford 1687: 82).

This is illustrated in the 'Ground Plot' of the Abbey (Sandford 1687: np), which shows 'A little organ for the King's Choir' to the south of the high altar, in a gallery. The King's choir of vocal music (i.e. the Chapel Royal singers) were in this gallery with the little organ, and the King's instrumental music was in a corresponding gallery north of the altar. The choir of Westminster was at the east end of the north choir in a gallery adjacent to the regular organ loft. The regular organ loft is identified and illustrated by Sandford, described as 'the Great Organ and Organ Loft in which sate [sic] several spectators'.

Further engravings given by Sandford confirm this arrangement. 'A Perspective of Westminster Abbey from the High Altar' (following p. 92) shows the regular organ in place, and the conductor, presumably Nicholas Staggins, in the gallery with the King's vocal music, holding a large baton and facing the Westminster Abbey singers diagonally opposite him at the east of the north side of the choir. The engraving 'The Inthronization of their Majesties King James the Second & Queen Mary' (following p. 102) also shows the regular Abbey organ in its usual place, with spectators seated around it. This is similar to the layout of the musicians used for the coronation of Charles II.

Henry Purcell set up the additional organ for this coronation and was paid out of Secret Service Money:

> To Henry Purcell for so much money by him disbursed for providing and setting up an organ in the Abbey Church of Westm^{r} for the solemnity of the Coronacon and

O hearken unto the voice Henry Cooke
The Recess '... the Organs playing all the while'

James II (23 April 1685)

A detailed account of the coronation of James II is preserved in Francis Sandford's *History of the Coronation...,of James II..* which includes plans of the layout of the Abbey for the service and engravings of the ceremony. These show us the musical resources used, which are described by Sandford:

> The Children and Gentlemen of his majesty's Chapel repair in the mean time to the Galleries appointed for them on each side of the Sacrarium, or Area, before the Altar, viz. The Vocal musick to the Gallery between the two uppermost Pillars, on the South-side of the Altar, and the instrumental Musick to the Gallery on the North Side of the said Area, In the Arch next to the Pulpit (Sandford 1687: 82).

This is illustrated in the 'Ground Plot' of the Abbey (Sandford 1687: np), which shows 'A little organ for the King's Choir' to the south of the high altar, in a gallery. The King's choir of vocal music (i.e. the Chapel Royal singers) were in this gallery with the little organ, and the King's instrumental music was in a corresponding gallery north of the altar. The choir of Westminster was at the east end of the north choir in a gallery adjacent to the regular organ loft. The regular organ loft is identified and illustrated by Sandford, described as 'the Great Organ and Organ Loft in which sate [sic] several spectators'.

Further engravings given by Sandford confirm this arrangement. 'A Perspective of Westminster Abbey from the High Altar' (Plate 1; ii/497) shows the regular organ in place, and the conductor, presumably Nicholas Staggins, in the gallery with the King's vocal music, holding a large baton and facing the Westminster Abbey singers diagonally opposite him at the east of the north side of the choir. The engraving 'The Inthronization of their Majesties King James the Second & Queen Mary' (Plate 2; ii/498) also shows the regular Abbey organ in its usual place, with spectators seated around it. This is similar to the layout of the musicians used for the coronation of Charles II.

Henry Purcell set up the additional organ for this coronation and was paid out of Secret Service Money:

> To Henry Purcell for so much money by him disbursed for providing and setting up an organ in the Abbey Church of Westm[r] for the solemnity of the Coronacon and

> for removing the same and other services p[er]formed in his Said Ma[ts] Chappell since 25th of March 1685 according to a bill signed by the Bishop of London £34 12s 0d (Ashbee 1991: 276 citing Ob, Rawlinson MS D 872 f.99).

Thompson, in his catalogue to the 1995 Purcell exhibition at the British Museum, associates this organ with the singers from the Chapel Royal and suggests that the main organ played with the Abbey choir (Thompson 1995a: 22).

Sandford's account gives the titles and composers of nine anthems sung for James II's coronation: (**Bold** is not in the original, see p. 106)

Entrance:	**I was glad, Purcell**	p. 83
Recognition:	**Let thy hand be strengthened, John Blow**	p. 85
Anointing:	Veni Creator Spiritus, William Turner	p. 89
	Zadok the priest, Henry Lawes	p. 91
Investing:	**Behold, O Lord, our defender, John Blow** (short anthem)	p.92
Crowning:	The king shall rejoice, William Turner	p. 94
After 2nd oblation and before the Litany: Te Deum, William Child		p. 94
Enthroning & Homage:	**God spake sometimes in visions, John Blow** (verse anthem)	p. 99-100
Anointing, crowning and investing of the Queen:	**My heart is inditing, Purcell**	p. 101-102

(Sandford 1687)

At the close of the service the Regalia was laid on the altar at the end of Edward's shrine with 'the Organs playing all the while' (Sandford 1687: 103). Edward's shrine is near to the organ in the south gallery, which was installed for the service, making it probable that this instrument was played at the close of the service.

John Blow composed three of the nine anthems for James II's coronation (the largest share given to any of the composers represented), including the spacious, orchestrally-accompanied 'God spake sometime in visions' (Wood 1993: xx), sung after the King's part of the coronation. It is scored for strings and bass. Autograph manuscripts for the three Blow anthems survive: Ob Ten. MS 1,008 ('God spake sometimes'), and Bu 5,001 ('Let thy hand', 'Behold, O God our defender'). Blow did not leave any organ parts for these anthems although the full anthems 'Let thy hand' and 'Behold, O God', were almost certainly sung with the organ. William Turner's two anthems for this coronation, full settings of 'Come Holy Ghost' and 'The king shall rejoice', are both lost (Spink 1995: 140).

Purcell's 'I was glad' was performed by the choirs in procession from the west end of the Abbey to the crossing, while the orchestral players were already seated in their gallery. The difficulties of co-ordinating these forces required that this anthem was sung without orchestra. A setting of 'I was glad', attributed to John Blow, composed by Purcell suitable for this purpose was discovered by Bruce Wood. It is shorter than the more famous Purcell anthem of the same title and is for unaccompanied voices. It is in Cul Ely MS 6, copied by James Hawkins, who attributed it to Blow (Wood 1977: 467). Purcell's 'My heart is inditing' was written for this service (Spink 1995: 129). There is a facsimile of part of this manuscript in Thompson, plate III. The original is in Lbl RM.20.h.8 with the organ as a continuo part on one stave.

William and Mary (11 April 1689)

Henry Purcell was responsible for setting up an organ for William and Mary's coronation, as with Charles II's coronation, which was again paid for out of Secret Service Money:

> By Hen. Purcell in Satisfaction of so much money by hime expended in providing an Organ & other necessarys for the use of the Chappell Choir at their Ma^{ts} Coronacon Cleare £32. 0s. 0d (Ashbee 1991: 276, citing Ob Rawlinson MS A 306 f.170; 1 August 1690).

We have no other details of this organ or its builder. On May 4 1689, within a month of the coronation, a warrant was sent from the Lord Chamberlain to the Gentleman Usher to swear and admit Bernard Smyth as Organ-maker in ordinary to his majesty (Lpro LC5/149 p. 119 cited in Ashbee 1987: 25). This royal favour so close to the coronation combined with Smith being the Abbey's organ builder at this time, suggests that Smith built, or at least installed, the organ Purcell provided for the coronation. Peter Holman suggested that two organs were used for this service, the temporary organ in the verse passages while the Abbey organ supported the main choir (Holman 1993: 401). This may have been the pattern from the Restoration until George II in 1727. After 1727 we know that only one organ was used at coronation services and the main organ was removed from the Abbey.

There is a perplexing iconographic record of William and Mary's coronation. In Hill's *Organ Cases...* there is an illustration of an organ allegedly used for this coronation, described by Hill as follows:

> The annexed sketch of two most remarkable organs formerly in Westminster Abbey, is taken from a Dutch print of the Coronation of William and Mary, now in the Crace Collection at the British Museum. This print shows the organs attached to the main piers of the lantern at the entrance to the south transept. A long narrow gallery has been thrown across the transept and connects the two instruments, while other galleries have been erected under the main arches for the accommodation of persons who witness the ceremony. These organs were evidently not the ones in general use at the Abbey,.... They must therefore have been specially erected, and by their curious shape have been brought from Holland. The print is very rough, and it is difficult to make out the exact form of the organs, but the bases appear to be Gothic, while the upper parts seem much later. There could have been no connection between the two in the way of mechanism. The designs are, in every respect, remarkable (Hill 1883/1891: np).

If such an unusual organ was built in the Abbey why are there apparently no further references to it? The sum of £32 paid to Purcell is a similar amount to that paid for the coronation organ for James II, which simply stood in the South gallery, and is not enough for all the work involved in building such a complex instrument.

There are two prints of this organ in the Crace collection that appear to show two different instruments. In Lbl Crace XIV:105 (Plate 3; ii/499) a pair of organs fixed on two pillars at the crossing is shown, and in Lbl Crace XIV:106 (Plate 4; ii/500) an organ is shown on the pillar to the left of the throne. These are both swallow's nest organs, the first with a set of doors to cover the case pipes, which seems most improbable. The prints were made from an engraving that is taken from an original picture which is now lost. They are therefore not primary evidence. Did the Dutch artist/engraver who made the picture draw an organ which would appear grand to his fellow countrymen? An organ with this design would have been unusual in England and the silence of other contemporary accounts also implies that such an organ was not erected in the Abbey.

Llp MS 1077 is an account of the coronation service entitled *A Formulary of that part of the solemnity w^{ch} is perform'd in the Church of the Coronation of their Majesties K. William and Q. Mary, at Westminster, Ap. 11, 1689.* According to this the anthems performed were:

Anthem I	I was glad (Vs. 1,2,4,5,6,7, Gloria)
Anthem II	Blessed art thou O Land
Litanie	'To be sung by two Bishops... the Choir Singing the responses to the organ'
Creed	Sung by Choir
Hymn	Veni Creator Spiritus - Sung out by the choir
Anointing	Zadok the priest - The Choir

After anointing	Behold, O God, our defender
Presentation of spurs	
After crowning	Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem
After blessing	Te Deum - Choir
The Final Anthem	The Lord God is a sun and a shield 'with instrumental musick of all sorts as a solemn conclusion of the coronation'

The Communion

Sentences - Let your light etc.	Choir
[anthem]	Let my prayer come up 'the organ plays and ye Quire singeth'
After Communion	The Quire sing 'Glory be to God on high &c'
The Recess	'the Organs playing all the while'

Purcell's 'Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem' was probably composed for this service (Spink 1995: 164). Three anthems: 'Behold, O God our defender' (4 part), 'Let my prayer come up' (full anthem) and 'The Lord God is a sun' (verse anthem with strings) are ascribed to Blow in the late seventeenth-century manuscript Lcm 1097 f.205r.-213v. and are all described there as 'composed for the coronation of William and Mary' (see also *Musica Britannica* 7, p. xv). Although there does not appear to be an original organ part for any of these anthems, the presence of an organ is assumed in the full anthems.

Bruce Wood has suggested that two anthems were repeated from the previous coronation: Purcell's 'I was glad', and Lawes's setting of 'Zadok the priest' (WAMS 58,524, pencil annotations; ii/428, 431).

A summary of anthems and composers for this service is:

I was glad	**[Henry Purcell]**
Blessed art thou O land	
Litany	[Plainsong]
Veni Creator Spiritus	[Plainsong]
Zadok the priest	**[Henry Lawes]**
Behold, O God, our defender	**John Blow**
Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem	**Henry Purcell**
Te Deum	
The Lord God is a sun and a shield	**John Blow**
Let my prayer come up	**John Blow**
Glory be to God on high &c - the choir	

Anne (23 April 1702)

The only reference relating to an organ at the coronation of Queen Anne is Lpro AO3/1190, 'Expenses of Coronation', p. 28: 'ffor eight yards of [super fine scarlet] cloth for the Organ Maker / and Organ Blower x^{li}'. The organ maker could have been be Bernard Smith; he received royal work four months after the coronation (as had happened after the coronation of William and Mary) when he was employed to set up an organ at Windsor on 10 August 1702 (Lpro LC5/153 p. 290). Smith was still the organ builder at the Abbey at this time and it is reasonable to suppose that he installed the coronation organ.

Llp MS 1078 is an account of the coronation service entitled *A Formulary of that part of the solemnity w^{ch} is perform'd in the Church of the Coronation of her Majesty Queen Anne at Westminster, 23. Ap. 1702* which lists these anthems:

Entrance/Anthem I	I was glad
The Recognition/Anthem II	The queen shall rejoice
Litany	Choir and Organ sing responses
Anointing	Come Holy Ghost - the choir
	Zadok the priest
After anointing	Behold O God our defender
After investiture	Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem
After Benediction	Te Deum laudamus - the choir
The Final Anthem	'with instrumental music of all sorts as a solemn conclusion of the Coronation'
The Communion	
Sentences - Let your light etc.	Choir
[anthem]	Let my prayer come up
	'the organ plays and the choir singeth'
After Communion	The Quire sing "Glory be to God on high &c'
The Recess	'the Organs playing all the while'

Composers identified with this coronation include Blow, Pigott, Clark and Turner. In Lbl Harlian MS 7,341, f.76v.-78v. William Turner's 'The queen shall rejoice' is prefaced 'The Queen Shall rejoyce / Psalm ye 21^{th} vers 1, 3, 5, 6. / Being ye 2^{d} Anthem sung at ye / Coronation Solemnity / of her Majesty Queen Ann / April the 23^{th} 1702 / Compos'd by Dr. $Will^{m}$ Turner'. It is a full anthem without instrumental accompaniment indicated. This manuscript is dated 1718 and was compiled by Thomas Tudway. It is possibly an adaptation of an earlier piece 'The king shall rejoice' (Spink 1995: 140).

The entry for Jeremiah Clarke in *Grove 6* states the 'Praise the Lord, O my soul' was written for this coronation (*Grove 6,* 4/447). This probably arose from confusion with Clarke's anthem 'Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem' that appears in the Gostling manuscript at Austin, pp 173-175, and in Lbl Harleian MS 7,340, f.250r.-252v., although it is not identified with Anne's coronation in these sources. The extended verse anthem 'Praise the Lord, O my soul', dated 1705 (Spink 1995: 171) post-dates the coronation by 3 years.

Spink has suggested that Francis Pigott's 'I was glad' was sung at this service and it appears in the Gostling score-book (Spink 1995: 170). Pigott was organist of the Chapel Royal until his death in 1704 (Spink 1995: 169). For Anne's coronation Blow appears to have done nothing more than adapt the music of two earlier coronation anthems, 'The Lord God is a sun' and the 1689 version of 'Behold, O God our defender', to shortened texts, omitting certain verses of a martial character which had originally been introduced for the coronation of William III (Wood 1993: xxii). These two anthems were accompanied only with the organ (Atkinson 1991: 37). 'The Lord God is a sun' is not included in the order of service in Llp MS 1078 and is another contender to be the 'final anthem'; this is suggested in the Tanner manuscript. Lawes's 'Zadok the priest' may have been used again as no other setting is known.

A list of the music and composers for Anne's coronation is:

I was glad	**[Francis Pigott]**
The queen shall rejoice	**William Turner**
Come Holy Ghost	
Zadok the priest	**Henry Lawes**
Behold, O God, our defender	**John Blow**
Praise The Lord, O Jerusalem	**Jeremiah Clarke**
Te Deum	
The Lord God is a sun & a shield	**John Blow**
Let my prayer	
Gloria	

George I (20 October 1714)

The only direct reference to an organ connected with the coronation of George I is a payment to the organ builder Shrider for cleaning the main Abbey organ after the coronation (WAMS 47,699; ii/378). This implies that it was present in the Abbey during the coronation, and needed cleaning because of the extra dirt and dust caused by the preparations and clearing up afterwards. A hand-written account of this service made by John Dolben of Finedon mentions the choir galleries for George I's coronation:

> ... The Quire of Westminster go up into / the Gallery appointed for them; / & the Sub Dean w[ith] the King's Quire / into their Gallery beyond the / Second Pillar on the South / side of the altar (Lwa MS CA53, p. 6).

This suggests that the traditional arrangement of the musicians' galleries was perpetuated. Therefore, an organ was probably provided in the south gallery for the King's Quire and to accompany the verse anthems.

Dolben also copied the order of service listing these anthems:

I was glad (By choir of Westminster)	p. 10
The king shall rejoice (the choir)	p. 13
The Litany, the choir singing the responses to the organ	p. 17
Come Holy Ghost	p. 27
Zadok the priest	p. 29
Behold, O God, our defender	p. 33
Praise The Lord, O Jerusalem	p. 47
Te Deum	p. 55
The Lord God is a sun and a shield	p. 63
The Choirs [and] instrumental music of all sorts. Let my prayer etc.	p. 65
(the Organ plays and the Quire Singeth) Gloria Sung	p. 69
[The Recess] The organ playing all the while	p. 72

(Lwa MS CA53)

The anonymous *Exact Account of ... His Majesty's Coronation* (1714) corroborates Dolben's order of service, with the additional note that at the end the 'Trumpets sound, Drums beat' (Anon 1714: 19).

'The Lord is a sun and a shield' was composed by Croft for the service, and is described as the 'anthem "performed att ye King's Coronation, 1714" in full score. By Croft' in Lbl Add MS 31,405 (early-eighteenth century). It was performed after the homage and was accompanied by trumpets and strings, a familiar scoring in English ceremonial church

music of the period (Burrows 1977: 469), and was the most significant composition provided for the ceremony (Atkinson 1991: 51).

The Tanner manuscript has the composer Lawes suggested for 'Zadok the priest' and Blow for 'Behold, O God, our defender'. No references are given, and these suggestions appear to follow the not unreasonable assumption that these settings were repeated from earlier coronations.

The Anthems and composers for this service include:

I was glad	
The king shall rejoice	
The Litany, the choir singing the responses to the organ	
Come Holy Ghost	
Zadok the priest	**Henry Lawes**
Behold, O God, our defender	**John Blow**
Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem	
Te Deum	
The Lord God is a sun and a shield	**William Croft**
Instrumental Anthem	
Let my prayer etc.	
Gloria	
[The Recess] The organ playing all the while	

George II (11 October 1727)

Shrider provided an organ for George II's coronation at a cost of £130 (Bartlett 1990: viii). This instrument was given to the Abbey by the newly crowned George II, as recorded in *The British Journal* for Saturday 10 February 1728 (see chapter 4):

> The fine organ made by Mr. Schrider, which was set up in Westminster Abbey, and used on the Day of The Coronation, has been presented to the Said Abbey by his Majesty. It is accounted one of the best performances by that maker (Lbl Burney Collection Vol. 252B).

The *Norwich Gazette* of 14 October 1727 has an account of the rehearsals in the Abbey before the coronation service including a reference to the organ:

> Yesterday there was a Rehearsal of the Coronation Anthems in Westminster-Abbey, set to Musick by the famous Mr. Handall: there being 40 voices, and about 160 Violins, Trumpets, hautboys, Kettle-Drums and Bass's proportionable; besides an organ, which was erected behind the Altar: And both the musick and the performers were the admiration of all the audience (cited Bartlett 1990: viii).

The organ and musicians were placed in a new position for this service, in a gallery above and behind the main altar. The large size of the orchestra, 160 players, far exceeds the 35 players plus trumpeters used at James II's coronation (Holman 1993: 401). Allowing for journalistic hyperbole it must have been an impressively large group of players. It prefigured the even larger forces assembled in 1784 for the Handel commemoration Festival (see below p. 133). The arrangement of the musical forces for this coronation is also referred to in a letter of William Boyce to the Lord Chamberlain, in a discussion of plans for the coronation of George III:

> Dr Boyce most humbly begs leave to represent to his Grace the Lord Chamberlain That the upper-part of the Altar at Westminster Abbey, as it now stands, will be in the middle of the Gallery appointed for the music, which renders it impossible for the Musicians to join in the performance as they ought to do, and will entirely spoil the composition.
>
> The first Grand Musical Performance in the Abbey, was at the Coronation of King George the Second, and the late Mr. Handel, who composed the music, often lamented his not having that part of the Altar taken away, as He, and all the Musicians Concerned, experienced the bad effect it had by that obstruction (LeGrove 1991: 20, citing Lpro).

This confirms the position of the musicians above the altar, so directly above it that part of the reredos was forming a barrier across the musicians gallery! Describing this as the 'first grand musical performance in the Abbey' suggests a marked difference from previous coronations and could refer to the central place of the musicians above and behind the altar, rather than divided on two galleries, and the size of the orchestra.

A full account of the music performed at this service was published by Donald Burrows (Burrows 1977). Establishing what happened at the event instead of what was intended to be performed is problematical. This list follows the printed order of service, with the anthems listed in the New Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal given after the oblique stroke (/) when it differs from the printed order: (**Bold** not in the original)

Procession	O Lord grant the king a long life - Full Anthem Child
Entrance	**I was glad** - Full Anthem
Recognition	**The king shall rejoice/Let thy hand be strengthened** - Verse Anthem
Litany	Choir singing responses to the organ/The Litany to be read
Anointing	Come Holy Ghost (omitted)/Come Holy Ghost (chanted) **Zadok the priest** - Verse Anthem **Behold, O God, our defender**/ Behold, O Lord, our defender (chanted)
Crowning	**Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem/The king shall rejoice** - Verse Anthem

Te Deum	We praise thee, O God/ Te Deum of Gibbons
Inthronisation	**Let thy hand be strengthened**
After Homage	**The Lord is a sun and shield**/God spake sometime in visions (chanted)
Queen's Coronation	**My heart is inditing** - Verse Anthem
Communion	The organ plays/During ye offertory the Organ plays till the Alms are done collecting Let my prayer come up into thy presence Therefore with angels/Sanctus &c sung in musick Glory be to God on high/The Gloria in Excelsis Sung in Musick

(Burrows 1977: 471)

The Handel Coronation Anthems 'Zadok the priest', 'My heart is inditing', 'The king shall rejoice' and 'Let thy hand be strengthened' were composed for this service. The anthem by Child 'O Lord grant the king a long life' (*Grove 6, 4*/229) would have been a revival of an anthem possibly written at the time of one of the Restoration coronations, although not sung in the coronation service.

George III (22 September 1761)

The music for George III's coronation is very well documented. An autograph score of the Boyce's anthems for the service survives, along with the original parts. The anthems are given without composer in *The Form Order of the Service that is to be Performed at the Coronation of... George III and Queen Charlotte, 22 September 1761* (London, 1761) and the anthems listed agree with those in the composer's autograph score. It is the only coronation under consideration for which the specification of the organ survives. The organ used at George II's funeral in Henry VII's chapel was erected in the choir of the Abbey for the coronation of George III. This is the only state funeral for which such a reference occurs in the Abbey Library. The order for the use of this organ came from the Lord Chamberlain's Office and was dated 17 September 1761 (WAMS 61,782; ii/441), five days before the coronation. The specification of the organ was:

Principal
Open Diapason
Stopped Diapason
Twelfth
Fifteenth
Bass Mixture II
Stop's Flute of Wood and Metal (WAMS 48,097B; ii/380)

The organ had two sets of keys 'from Double [Aiee] short Octaves to Del / in alt.', (AA,BB,C,D,E-d^3), the lower set of keys was the Choir organ and played the Stopped Diapason and Flute, all seven stops were available on the Great organ and case was 12 feet high, 7 feet wide and 2 feet deep (WAMS 48,097B; ii/380).

This is a typical two-manual chamber organ containing a principal chorus with a Stopped Diapason and Flute and a solo stop for the left hand (Bass Mixture II). Providing a second manual with the Stopped Diapason and Flute available on it made for a versatile instrument. We do not know who built this organ, although the organ builder Thomas Knight was paid for taking down the Great and Choir organs of the Abbey, for taking down the organ used at the coronation, and for putting up the organs in the Abbey after the coronation (WAMS 48,097A, ii/379). Shrider was tuning the Abbey organ at this time and he may have had some part in providing the temporary instrument.

The removal of the main Abbey organ from its central place on the choir screen was ordered in September 1761:

> It is this day ordered by their Lordships, that the Surveyor / General of his Majestys works, do cause such Sufficient Room / or Gallerys to be prepared in the place where the Organ stood over / the Choir door in Westminster Abbey, for the Trumpets, Drums and Musick under Doctor Boyce, as the Earl Marshall shall direct; / and that the remaining part of the Organ Loft be appropriated to / the use of the Church of Westminster, in such manner as the Earl / Marshall shall think proper. / W. Blair. / no 30 (Lpro Work 21/1, f.13r.).

The organ stood where the trumpets and drums were traditionally placed and its removal was now more pressing than it had been when it was tucked away in the north choir aisle. An engraving of this service entitled 'A perspective of Westminster Abbey from the High Altar to the West End, Showing the manner of his Majesty's Crowning Sep^{r} 22 1761' (Plate 5; ii/501) is the end-piece to the account of the service published by Kearsley (anon 1761). This shows a choir in the gallery at the south of the altar, with a conductor facing across the crossing towards the instrumental music in a gallery north east of the crossing. A further group of singers is visible in a gallery at the north west of the crossing.

The size of the instrumental ensemble for this service can be determined from the surviving instrumental parts which are bound into three volumes as Ob MS Mus Sch C 116 $^{a-c}$. Fifty-three parts survive and many of these have the names of the players written on them. Since two names appear on most of them, two players to one part seems likely (although no indications survive on any of the three trumpet parts). If there were two trumpeters to a part and one drummer, these 53 parts would have been sufficient for an orchestra of 105 players. This is the first evidence that we have from copies of music used at a coronation for large orchestral forces in the Abbey. The organ is used with the chorus parts and is a change from the situation in the Restoration anthem when the organ accompanied the verse sections, and the orchestra the chorus.

Llp MS 1083(a) is the *Printed form and order of the Service that is to be performed, and of the Ceremonies that are to be observed in the Coronation of their Majesties K. George 3rd and Queen Charlotte in the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster, on Tuesday 22d. September, 1761.* This is the copy used by Archbishop Secker and includes these anthems:

Anthem I	I was glad
Recognition/Anthem II	The king shall rejoice
Litany	Sung with organ
Anointing/Anthem III	Veni Creator - Sung by choir
Anthem IV	Zadok the priest
Anthem V	Behold O God
Crowning/Anthem VI	Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem
	Te Deum - Choir
The final Anthem/ Anthem VIII	The Lord is a sun and a shield
Queen's Coronation/ Anthem IX	My heart is inditing
The Communion	
	Let my prayer come up - choir and organ
	Holy, holy - the choir sings
	Gloria - Sung
The Recess	The organ playing all the while

William Boyce wrote nine anthems for the coronation of George III. The full score and instrumental and vocal parts (incomplete) survive. Two volumes, Ob MS Mus. C. 11 and C. 12, contain the coronation anthems in full score in the composer's autograph. C. 11 contains the five anthems 'I was glad', 'The king shall rejoice', 'Come Holy Ghost', 'Behold O God' and 'Praise the Lord O Jerusalem'. C. 12 contains three anthems: 'The

Lord is a sun and a shield', 'My heart is inditing' and 'Let my prayer come up'. Four of these are for voices only ('I was glad', 'Come Holy Ghost', 'Behold O God our defender' and 'Let my prayer come up'). The ascription to 'I was glad' on all the surviving manuscript parts reads:

First anthem performed on the Queen's Entrance in the west door of the Abbey.

Boyce's letters to the Archbishop relating to the coronation music survive (Llp MS 1130, ii/478). They include a list of the timings of the anthems written on the eve of the service:

First Anthem - The Length -	Three Minutes & one half
Second Anthem - Ditto -	Eight Minutes
Third Anthem - Ditto -	Three Minutes & one half
Fourth Anthem - Ditto -	Six Minutes
Fifth Anthem - Ditto -	Two Minutes
Sixth Anthem - Ditto -	Three Minutes & one half
Seventh Anthem - Ditto -	Three Minutes & one half
Eighth Anthem - Ditto -	Ten Minutes
Ninth Anthem - Ditto -	Ten Minutes & one half
Tenth Anthem - Ditto -	One Minute & one half (Llp MS 1138 item 77; ii/479)

The Archbishop was only informed of the length of the musical portions of the service on the day before the coronation, presumably after the rehearsal; on the eve of the coronation Boyce asked if the responses to the commandments and to the announcement of the Gospel were to be spoken or sung (Llp MS 1130 item 65). The answer does not survive.

Reconciling the list of anthems by Boyce, with the details of the timings of the anthems and the order of service used by the archbishop gives the following details of the music for the service:

Anthem	Composer	length (minutes)
I was glad	**William Boyce**	3.5
The king shall rejoice	**William Boyce**	8
Come Holy Ghost	**William Boyce**	3.5
Zadok the priest	**[George Handel]**	6
Behold, O God our defender	**William Boyce**	2
Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem	**William Boyce**	3.5
Te Deum	**[William Boyce]**	3.5
The Lord is a sun and a shield	**William Boyce**	10
My heart is inditing	**William Boyce**	10.5
Let my prayer come up	**William Boyce**	1.5

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1821 claimed that Boyce wrote a Te Deum for George III's coronation, and Bumpus suggested that this was the one in A major (Bumpus 1908:

2/272). The Boyce anthems passed into obscurity and, apart from his Te Deum in A, have not been used again. Another setting by Boyce of 'The king shall rejoice' was written for the wedding of George III to Queen Charlotte in 1761 (Nice 1970: 6).

The Bodleian Library manuscripts and the correspondence in Lambeth Palace Library are convincing evidence for attributing the music for George III's coronation service to Boyce. However, the composers Purcell, Turner, Handel and Hayes have been suggested for these anthems. These suggestions first appeared 49 years after the event in Thomson's *Faithful Account* ... (1820), and subsequently in the Tanner manuscript, F. J. Crowhurst's article 'Coronation Music' (Crowhurst 1901: 32) and in Janet Leeper's paper (Leeper 1937: 561). Hughes makes the unsupported assertion 'it seems fairly certain that not more than four [of Boyce's anthems] were sung, in addition to his Te Deum' (Hughes 1953: 88).

George IV (29 July 1821)

Thomas Elliot built an organ for George IV's coronation. Elliot was the Abbey organ builder in 1821 and removed and rebuilt the Abbey organ before and after the service. He also entered into a protracted dispute over payment which lasted three years until December 1824, when the Dean and Chapter paid his bill (See Chapter Book XV, pp. 65, 181, 218; ii/299 and WAMS 51,412-9; ii/386 & 66,543-4; ii/488).

Stephen Pinel argues that this organ was built for Elliot by Henry Corrie (1786-1858) (Pinel 1996), who went on to make his career in America soon after the coronation. Pinel claims that Corrie built two new organs for George IV's coronation, and was responsible for dismantling and re-erecting the main Abbey organ (Pinel 1996: 12). His source is an article called 'Organ at Hallowell' printed in the *Euterpeiad* 3:5, 23 May 1823 which Pinel presumes to be an interview with Corrie. (The original was in the *Hallowell Gazette* for 1823 and is lost.) The account refers to two temporary organs in the Abbey for the coronation. This is unprecedented and not supported by any other sources. In his interview Corrie goes on to claim that he witnessed the whole ceremony standing inside the case of the organ on the Great soundboard. The relationship between Corrie and Elliot (the builder attributed with this organ) is established by Pinel, but the link between Corrie and the

coronation organ, and the reference to two coronation organs need stronger support. Corrie's claim to building two organs contradicts the account of the coronation in *The Observer* of 22 July 1821, which describes 'The organ... in the centre of the music gallery' (WAMS 66,298; ii/445), and having the musical resources in one location would render a second organ unnecessary. In a table of organs built or installed by Henry Corrie, Pinel suggests that the coronation organ (or one of them) had three manuals (Pinel 1996: 13). Hill only charged for erecting one organ at the coronation (WAMS 56,799*(2) f.2r.; ii/398), contradicting Corrie's claim to have built two organs for Hill for the coronation. How reliable are the self-made claims of an organ builder trying to establish himself in a foreign country, whose story relating to the British royal family may have earned him some fame? Independent confirmation of Corrie's story from another source is necessary.

Barbara Owen made a contribution to this discussion in an article about the organ by Elliott in the Old South Church (Congregational), Boston. Corrie is associated with this instrument and an 1847 account of it in the *Boston Musical Gazette* refers to the pedal department thus:

> The pedal pipes belonging to this organ were used at the coronation of George IV, in Westminster Abbey (Owen 1996: 125).

No further evidence is cited for the provenance of these pipes, and a link with Corrie is not suggested. This raises the interesting possibility that the coronation organ had pedals with independent pipes that were allegedly exported to Boston with another Elliot organ.

Thomas Elliot's account for the work done at the Abbey for the 1821 coronation records that eight men were employed to take down the main organ before the coronation, and six to rebuild it afterwards (WAMS 51,412; ii/386). These men could have included Corrie, although he is not identified by Elliot as his foreman. Corrie may have made more of his organ building for the coronation than was merited in his American interview.

The cost of this organ is quoted in the estimate by Sir George Smart of expenses for the coronation service music of William IV:

> For taking down the Organ ^&c^ in / Westminster Abbey £400

Erecting another Organ &c 680
1080
(WAMS 56,799*(2) f.2r.; ii/398)

The charge of £400 included taking down the organ, storing it, rebuilding it and repairing parts which were damaged during the two moves (WAMS 51,414; ii/388). The total cost of £1,080 for building a new organ and taking down and rebuilding the organ in Westminster Abbey was a lot of money, reflecting the increasing size of the instruments.

A detailed description of the organ case was written by Huish:

> Above the altar, and over the traverse, was situated the music gallery, the two front rows of which were devoted to spectators;- behind these were the seats for the instrumental performers. The organ was in the centre; above it was the royal crown, with a figure of Fame on each side; and beneath the crown a medallion of his Majesty. This was painted by Mr. Drummond.
>
> A new front was added to the organ, the design was of Gothic character, and prepared and executed by Mr. Latilla, the artist, and Mr. Phipps, of the Office of Works. The pipes of the organ all stand separately, and furnish their own shade; the decorative part was painted and gilt in exact representation of the rose-wood inlaid with brass. The effect when viewed from the bottom of the choir, was extremely [p.113] grand. Seats were prepared in front of the choristers for one hundred and fifty persons, the vocal and instrumental performers being arranged close to the organ (Huish 1821a: 112-113).

The grandly decorated and centrally placed organ, behind and above the altar in a gallery across the east end of the Abbey would have been an attractive focal point. WAMS 60,017 (a scrapbook of papers relating to the coronation of George III & IV) has an unidentified press cutting (WAMS 60,017 p. 8; ii/440) showing an organ in the Abbey for the coronation (Plate 6; ii/502). It is clearly drawn and has two manuals and a three-tower case. A case of the size suggested could have contained independent pedals. The organ was in a gallery with all the musicians at this coronation and, it must have been large enough for the 100 instruments and 200 singers who participated (Huish 1821b: 215). Mr Knyvett, senior organist to the King, 'presided at the organ' (Huish 1821b: 303).

Attwood's 'I was glad', written for the coronation, was published for the Royal Harmonic Institution the same year with a dedication to the newly-crowned king:

> The following pages, which Your Majesty has most graciously permitted me to introduce to the world under the auspices of your Illustrious Name will owe their chief recommendation to their having been, by Your Majesty's Command, written to form a part of that sublime and gratifying Solemnity which the Nation has lately

beheld, and to their having received the invaluable stamp of Your Majesty's Approbation (Attwood 1821: i).

The anthem is scored for violin 1,2; viola; flute; oboe 1,2; clarinet in C 1,2; horn in C 1,2; timpani in C (G,C); trombone 1,2,3; bassoon 1,2; and clarino 1,2 and bass (with organ for the chorus parts) with additional clarinets (2), horn and fagotto at the repeat of the introduction. There are canto, alto, tenor and bass chorus parts. The anthem has an orchestral introduction.

The following passage, from the *Gentleman's Magazine* July 1821, reads like an eye-witness account of the proceedings and details the music performed:

> On his Majesty's entering the Abbey, instead of the Anthem *I was glad*, &c. (as on former occasions) the *Hallelujah Chorus*, by Handel, was performed, according to the Royal instructions. The second performance was a selection from *Saul*, by the same composer, beginning with *Already see the Monarch of the Lord advance, &c.* The third Anthem then followed, *I was glad, &c.* The fourth, previous to the Communion Service was sung with the organ accompaniment only, or Sanctus music by Jomelli, and responses to the Communion in like manner. Fifth, after the anointing, *Come, Holy Ghost, our Souls inspire*; sung to the grand chaunt [sic]. Sixth, Handel's Grand Coronation Anthem, *Zadoch* [sic]*the Priest*, the effect of which reached the hearts of everyone present. Then a long series of ceremony as stated in the above account; after which the second New Anthem, to the words, *"The King shall rejoice in thy strength, O Lord, exceeding glad shall he be of they salvation. Thou hast prevented him with the blessings of goodness, and hast set a crown of pure gold upon his head. Hallelujah! Amen."* This was composed by Mr. William Knyvett, whose duty it was (with Mr. Attwood) to provide new compositions. His Majesty told them they had very far exceeded his expectation, and he was glad to have two of his servants so deserving of their situations. Dr. Boyce's *Te Deum*, composed for the last Coronation, was then sung, accompanied by the organ and band; the next Anthem was *Blessed be Thou Lord God of Israel*, composed by Kent. After the Sacrament, and at the conclusion, *God save great George our King* was sung with heart and voice, accompanied with the whole orchestra, chorused by all the nobles of the land male and female. Thus concluded the ceremonies of one of the proudest days England ever saw.... [the text mentions the singing of the litany, p. 9]

Reduced to a list of Anthems and composers this gives:

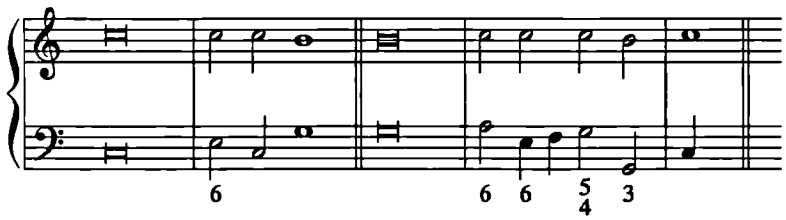
Hallelujah Chorus	**Handel**
A selection from Saul	**Handel** (Already see the monarch of the Lord...)
I was glad	**Attwood**
The Litany	
Sanctus	**Jomelli**, with organ only
Responses to the Communion	
Come, Holy Ghost	**The Grand Chant**
Zadok the priest	**Handel**
The king shall rejoice	**William Knyvett**
Te Deum	**Boyce**, organ and band

Blessed be thou Lord God of Israel	Kent
God save great George our King	accompanied with the whole orchestra

The list of anthems provided in Huish's account has 'Let thy hand be strengthened' for the anthem with organ only (Huish 1821b: 218). The selection of pieces from longer works, here Handel's *Saul* and *Messiah*, show a developing fashion for selections from complete works, and the establishment of a body of older music forming a musical canon.

The writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* did not identify all the anthems. Attwood's 'Let thy hand be strengthened' was written for this service (Bumpus 1908: 2/405) and Mr Kramer [sic] was 'composer of the music to [i.e. orchestrated] Kent's celebrated anthem "Blessed be thou, Lord God of Israel"' (Huish 1821a: 303). The order of service for George III preserved in Llp MS 1083(a) has annotations made during the planning of George IV's coronation that identify the Te Deum 'Boyce in A - full'. The Sanctus by Jomelli is in the Triforium music where we learn that it was arranged by Col. Spencer 'from Jomelli's overture' (Triforium Music, Tenor Cantoris No. 3 p. 148). Knyvett's 'The king shall rejoice', is titled 'composed for the coronation of George IV' in the Chapel Royal anthem book (Pearce 1826: 357). The 'Grand Chaunt' was composed by Pelham Humphrey and was used at Westminster Abbey for special festivals (Wilson 1996: 139; Marsh 1810: ii).

Grand Chant



(Marsh 1820: 32)

The new king took a personal interest in the music for his coronation. Crowest cites this story, which the writer could have been told by someone present during the events described:

> ... George IV took more interest in the music to be performed at his coronation than do monarchs generally. A grand rehearsal of the music performed on Thursday, July 19, 1821, took place upon the previous Monday, upon which occasion the King-elect suggested many alterations and improvements. At his Majesty's command the 'Hallelujah' chorus from the *Messiah* was added to the selection

> already made, and was performed on the entrance into the Abbey.... During the rehearsal his Majesty found that the instrumental part of the band was too powerful for the vocal. The king therefore commanded that the voices should be strengthened, and this took place as far as the extent of the orchestra would permit. At the end of the rehearsal George IV.... particularly complimented Messrs Attwood and Knyvett, the composers of the two new anthems, on the talent which they had displayed (Crowest 1901: 34).

The problem of creating enough volume has already been seen in quotations from Smart's accounts for this coronation and reflects a change in taste and expectations. The Abbey was the same size as it always had been, but now the volume of the choir, which had been ample for many years, was found inadequate. By this date the orchestra was more powerful, and the use of a more powerful organ with the chorus combined to create a need for a larger choir.

William IV (28 September 1831)

> After the fabulously expensive coronation of George IV expenses were cut to a minimum at the coronation of William IV, the 'penny coronation' as it was called (Carpenter 1972: 414).

A supplement to the *Observer* for 22 July 1821 illustrated William IV's coronation (WAMS 65,056; ii/443) showing the organ loft with the old organ removed, lined and covered with crimson cloth. The space thus gained was reserved for the trumpeters and other musicians who were to form part of the procession (p. 1 col. 5). There was a music gallery above the altar:

> Above the altar, and over the traverse, was situated the Music gallery, the Two front rows of which were devoted to spectators; behind these were the seats for the Choristers, and behind them again seats for the instrumental performers. The organ was in the centre; to this a new gothic front had been put, which was designed and executed by Mr. Latilla and Mr. Phipps. It was made in imitation rosewood, inlaid with Brass, & looked extremely well. Above the organ was the royal crown, with a figure of Fame on each side; and beneath the Crown a medallion of his majesty. This was painted by Mr. Drummond (p. 2 col. 1).

There was an organ above the altar in the choir and musician's gallery for William IV's coronation. This 'Great Gallery, fronting the organ' is mentioned in Lpro WORK 21/12/20 f.1 (August 18, 1831). It was a similar arrangement to that used for George IV with the organ in a gallery at the east end of the Abbey. The crown undertook to pay for the reinstatement of the main organ after the coronation (Lpro WORK 21/15/23 f.21v). In Chapter Book XVI, 17 October 1832, we find Elliot & Hill were paid by the Dean and

Chapter for cleaning the organ after the coronation, the Board of Works 'having declined paying it' (ii/300). The Dean and Chapter spent more than the crown was prepared to pay for and ended up footing the bill.

A band of 67 players and 118 vocalists was employed for the service (WAMS 56,779*(8); ii/410) and their names are recorded by Smart in his account of the expenses of the coronation (WAMS 56,779*(4); ii/399). This is a change in the balance between the vocalists and instrumentalists. We have already seen that for George II's coronation there were 160 players and 40 singers. From four times as many players as singers there are now nearly twice as many singers as players, reflecting the increase in power of the orchestral instruments and the trend for large scale performances of choral music, although it was a small group in comparison with the 500 or so musicians (Burney 1785: 9) assembled for the Handel commemoration.

The Form and Order of Service that is to be performed... in the Coronation of Their Majesties King William IV and Queen Adelaide... 1831, (London 1831, Llp KA113/1831) gives the following as the music for the coronation of William IV:

Entrance	I was glad (Vv 1,5,6,7+Gloria) Choir of Westminster
Litany	Read - the choir reading the responses
Beginning of Communion	A Sanctus
The Anointing	Come Holy Ghost Zadok the priest
After Crowning	The king shall rejoice Te Deum
The Homage	O Lord, grant the king a long life
After Queen's Coronation	Hallelujah!
The Recess	the Organs playing all the while

A list of anthems and composers for this service made by the Director of Music, George Smart, was used by Tanner but is now lost (see Authorities Q, Q^2 ii/427). It identified the following composers:

I was glad	**Thomas Attwood**
The king shall rejoice	Thomas Attwood
Come Holy Ghost	**The Grand Chant**
Zadok the priest	**George Handel**
The king shall rejoice	William Knyvett
O Lord grant the king a long life	**Thomas Attwood**
Hallelujah	**George Handel**

Overture to the Occasional Oratorio **George Handel**
Te Deum in A **William Boyce**

Thomas Attwood's 'O Lord grant the king a long life' was published after the coronation with a dedication to the King on the title-page:

> Your Majesty's condescension is allowing this Anthem, my official contribution to the late splendid and solemn ceremony in Westminster Abbey to appear in its present form under sanction so illustrious... (Attwood 1831: i).

This confirms that the anthem was written for and performed at this coronation. It is scored for violin 1,2; viola; flute 1,2; oboe 1,2; clarinet in A 1,2; horn in D 1,2 and A 1,2; trumpet in D 1,2; timpani in D (D,G,C); trombone 1,2,3; bassoon 1,2; and bass and canto, alto, tenor and bass chorus. There is a lengthy orchestral introduction. This scoring is for a slightly larger orchestra than Attwood had at the previous coronation when he composed 'I was glad'. The orchestra has an extra flute, and an additional horn. The trumpets are now included in the orchestra.

Victoria (28 June 1838)

The music for Victoria's coronation was organised on a grand scale by Sir George Smart. After his experience with William IV's coronation he asked for greatly increased instrumental and vocal resources to have a strong impact in the vast space of the Abbey.

> At the last Coronation the Choir was by no means sufficiently powerful; it ought certainly to be encreased at the approaching solemnity. I see no other mode of doing this effectively, than that of encouraging the services of some of our best English Singers, and of a certain number of Chorus Singers in addition to the members of the four Choirs (WAMS 56,779*(12); ii 424).

The 'four choirs' were those of Westminster Abbey, the Chapel Royal, St. George's Windsor and St. Paul's Cathedral. Smart was able to gain an increase in the number of performers and had 108 instrumentalists and 292 singers (WAMS 56,779*(8); ii/410). The names of all the performers are recorded in the account of expenses for the coronation music submitted by Smart to the Lord Chamberlain's office (WAMS 56,779*(11); ii/415).

The appointment of Sir George Smart as organist for the coronation provoked strong criticism:

> ...every one capable of sound judgment in the matter was disgusted to see Sir George Smart pitchforked into the position, as organist, where Mr. James Turle should have been. Turle... was in the full vigour of his intellect and ability, and

> Smart could not hold a candle to him as a church musician - whether composer or organist (Crowest 1901: 36).

This polemic was almost certainly taken from the *Musical World* who reported:

> In the musical ceremonial of the approaching Coronation, there is a projected arrangement which the sober and right-thinking part of the musical profession regard with feelings of grief and indignation, involving, as it does, an act of injustice towards a most worthy and talented member of the profession.... We allude to the Music Director undertaking the diametrically opposed offices of conducting a crowded orchestra, and of performing on a large German organ with two octaves of pedals... Justice demands, the profession expects, that, subject to Sir George's pecuniary rights, Mr Turle should occupy this station; and those who are acquainted with the respective acquirements of these two gentlemen are astonished that the parties in power should have any difficulty about the matter (*Musical World*, 21 June 1838, 126-7).

Smart was clearly a controversial figure, and not thought of as highly as Turle as an organist. The pedals of the 'German' coronation organ caught the imagination of the writer who doubted Smart's abilities to play it and give the time to the band simultaneously: 'Sir George can do no such thing, and if he wishes to know why we will give him our reasons' (ibid). The reception of the coronation music was mixed. The reporter for *The Times* was obviously impressed by the performance:

> The effect ... of the whole of the music it is impossible adequately to describe; now soft and slow sweetly stealing o'er the enchanted sense, now swelling into grandeur, and bursting into glorious diapason, rousing, thrilling, awing, soul-subduing (*The Times*, 29 June 1838, p. 5 col. 6)

The *Court Journal* was also strongly in favour (*Musical World*, 5 July 1838), but the *Spectator* was adversely critical of all the music.

The parts of the main Abbey organ obstructing the centre of the screen were removed for this coronation (Lpro WORK 21/17/13/1,2,&3) and an organ was built for the service by Hill and Davison. The coronation organ had at least two manuals, two octaves of pedals, and 26 ranks of pipes:

> It is much larger than that built for the Coronation of George IV. There are twenty ranks of pipes to each note on the manuals which extend to CC, the 8-foot pipe, and six ranks to each note on the manuals which extend from CCC, the 16-feet pipe, to C [sic] the 4-feet. The compass of the manuals is the same as that adopted by the German organ builders, and the pedal board runs throughout two octaves. The trombone or posaune stop in the pedal is of a very fine quality of tone and immense power. The diapasons are rich and massive, the mixtures sparkling and brilliant (*Musical World*, 27 June 1838, 155).

It was subsequently sold to the church of St. John, Chester; the story of the sale and the organ's canal trip to Chester is told in the Hill records (Hill Vol. Est. 1, p. 26, 28 September 1838; ii/461).

The organ case was designed in the 'Saxon Style' (Hill Vol. Est. 1, p. 7, 9 May 1838; ii/460), a style not regularly used by Hill, described as 'somewhat out of the ordinary' (ibid). In May 1838 the organ was due for completion in July. It would stand nine feet three inches deep by fourteen feet in width (Hill Vol. Est. 1 p. 8, 11 May 1838; ii/460), and nearly 25 feet high (Hill Vol. Est. 1 p. 21, 16 July 1838; ii/461). The organ had a 'long movement' which was offered to St. John's since it could be added 'without further preparation in the interior of the organ' (ibid). This movement meant that the organist could sit in front of the organ with a space between the console and the case, thereby commanding a view of the choir and orchestra. A similar arrangement had been used for the Handel festival (see below, p. 133).

The move of the organ to Chester was delayed by the Dean and Chapter who claimed the organ as their property after the coronation (Hill Vol. Est. 1 p. 21, 16 July 1838; ii/461). The result of their claim is not known (WAMS 51,510; ii/390 & 51,538A&B; ii/391), but the organ was rebuilt in St. John's Chester by the end of 1838. The specification of this organ does not survive from 1838, but in 1894 it was rebuilt by Gray and Davison, and the specification of the rebuilt organ indicates which stops were old. As the organ was rebuilt fairly quickly in 1838, the major components (soundboards etc.) would probably have been left alone, and to keep the price to £160 as little new work as possible carried out. Therefore this list gives an indication of the disposition of the 1838 coronation organ:

1838 Pipes in St. John's Chester in 1894

Great: Open Diapason [1], Open Diapason [2], Stopped Diapason, Principal, Twelfth, Fifteenth
Swell: Bourdon 16', Open Diapason, Lieblich Gedackt, Principal, Mixture 3, [not full compass]
Choir: Open Diapason, Dulciana, Clarabella, Principal, Fifteenth, Cremona
Pedal: Open Diapason 16', Bourdon 16'
(British Organ Archive, Gray and Davison Shop Book 15, job number 10,709)

This is similar to the description of the coronation organ in the number of manual ranks, with 19 instead of 20. The pedal is quite different with two, not six ranks, and no pedal

Trombone. However, it could be safe to say that the coronation organ also had three manuals, with a fairly comprehensive specification for its role accompanying the choir and playing with the orchestra.

The list of music to be performed at Victoria's coronation service was published in advance by Joseph Mallett, and is quoted below. This was the first time that such a list was published and shows the growing public interest in choral singing which was reflected in the birth of Novello's publishing house around this time. (**Bold** not in the original)

The Order of The Music &c to be performed at The Coronation, June 26, 1838

I was glad	**T. Attwood**
Litany	Read
Sanctus, Responses after Commandments	Sir George Smart Composer to Her Majesty's Chapels Royal.
Come Holy Ghost	**The Grand Chant (organ only)**
Zadok the priest	**Handel**
The queen shall rejoice	**Handel**
Te Deum in A	**Dr Boyce**
This is the day the Lord hath made	W. Knyvett Composer to Her Majesty's Chapels Royal.
Hallelujah	**Handel**
An instrumental piece	Handel

Other lists of the music agree with this one, including the copy belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the anonymous *Form and Order of the Service... the Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Victoria* (London, 1838, Llp KA113/1838) and a further account published in the sixtieth year of Victoria's reign (anon) *The Form and Order of the Service that was performed... in the Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Victoria* (London: 1897, Llp KA113/1838). This latter book refers to the copy used by Sir George Smart, the Abbey Organist, and to particulars of titles of the anthems published in *The Times* newspaper on 29 June 1838.

Thomas Attwood composed the anthem 'Let thy hand be strengthened' for this coronation, which was not performed owing to the composer's death in 1838 (Attwood, nd.). Sir John Goss set 'O Lord, grant the queen a long life' in honour of the coronation, later published by Cranmer (Foster 1901: 173).

Other Events requiring Special Music

Westminster Abbey is used for state funerals, memorial services, the installation of the Knights of the Bath and special events such as the Handel commemoration in 1784. For such events special music was required, and for some of them temporary organs were installed. We have already noted that the organ used at the funeral of George II in Henry VII's chapel was erected in the choir of the Abbey for the coronation of George III (see p. 117). A music gallery had been built in the Henry VII Chapel for the funeral (Chapter Book 10, 22 May 1761; ii/297). The provision of a music gallery and organ may not have been unique, but records of the musical provision for state funerals are even less accessible than they are for coronations, and a reconstruction of their music has not been attempted here.

The commemoration of Handel in 1784 was the largest musical event to have taken place within the Abbey. An organ was supplied by Samuel Green, and is described by Burney:

> It was fabricated for the Cathedral of Canterbury, but before its departure for the place of its destination, it was permitted to be opened in the capital on this memorable occasion. The keys of communication with the harpsichord, at which Mr. Bates, the conductor, was seated, extended nineteen feet from the body of the organ, and twenty feet seven inches below the perpendicular of the set of keys by which it is usually played (Burney 1785: 8).

The amount of the organ which made its way from Westminster to Canterbury is open to question. David Wickens, in his study of Samuel Green points out:

> The last of these Abbey performances was on 5th June; the Canterbury Cathedral organ was opened on 8th July.... Engravings of the case used at the Abbey show a Gothic design different both in layout and detail from the illustrations of the Canterbury west front.... Moreover the long movement necessary at the Abbey was not moved to Canterbury. These pieces of information seem to indicate that only parts of the Canterbury organ were used at the Abbey (Wickens 1987: 120).

Wickens argues that the pipework used in the organ for the Handel commemoration then went into the organ at Canterbury. The permanent presence of the Handel commemoration festival organ in the Abbey is revealed in Green's correspondence with the Chapter Clerk at Lincoln when he wrote to him in 1791 'upon examining the Organ for the Abby Concerts which lies by from Year to Year, I found so many of the Pipes &c damaged, that they detained me last week' (cited Wickens 1987: 121). This damage was probably sustained by the organ in the gap between the 1787 and 1791 commemorations. The *Canterbury Journal* for 13 July 1784 claims that the old Canterbury organ case was used for the

commemoration organ (Jeffery 1997: 16). Receipts from local workmen for making the organ case for the Canterbury organ survive (Jeffery 1997: 16) and these tend to confirm that the case of the Handel commemoration organ did not go to Canterbury. No information about the commemoration organ survives at the Abbey and there is not even a record of where it stood in the building between the festivals. For the 1784 festival it was erected on a large scaffolding built below the west window, and surrounded by the choir. The king and the royal family sat at the east end of the nave (Burney 1785: 10), opposite the musicians gallery, and in full view of the audience. 'The general idea was to produce the effect of a royal musical chapel, with the orchestra terminating one and, and the accommodations for the Royal Family, the other' (Burney 1785: 4-5). This again brought the relationship between the church and the state (see chapter 4) into relief in a quasi-religious event.

The music performed at the commemoration is described in detail by Burney, and the programme for the first commemoration concert on 26 May 1784 was:

> Overture - Esther
> The Dettingen Te Deum
>
> Overture with the Dead March in Saul
> Part of the Funeral Anthem
> When the ear hear him
> He delivered the poor that cried
> His body is buried in peace
> Gloria Patri, from the Jubilate
>
> Anthem - O sing unto the Lord
> Chorus - The Lord shall reign, from Israel in Egypt (Burney 1785: 27)

The glorification of the king evident in this programme was even remarked on by Burney, who noted 'the greatest propriety in saluting their Majesties, at the entrance with the *Coronation Anthem...*'. Burney wished that the first piece had allowed all the singers and instrumentalists to enter together at the same instant to great effect (Burney 1785: 29). William Weber comments 'the first programme, held in the Abbey, was chiefly sacred music, and, indeed, illustrated the union of Church and State that was central to conservative ideological support of George III' (Weber 1992: 226). Weber demonstrates that the Handel commemoration was a political event in the wake of the American War, the constitutional crisis between the Crown and Parliament and the turbulent election of 1784

on one hand and also the 'culmination of the development of musical classics in eighteenth-century England' (Weber 1992: 223) on the other. The Abbey, the church where the monarch was crowned, was an especially suitable location for this event. In 1859 the Dean of Westminster was asked if he would allow the Abbey to be used for another Handel commemoration to raise money for an orphanage (WAMS 51,659). This request was not granted.

Another occasion for special music in the Abbey is the service of the Installation of the Knights of the Bath. The service takes place in the Henry VII chapel, and an organ has been provided here on some of these occasions. In May 1779 a music gallery was erected over King Henry VII's monument in the chapel for the installation service, and the Knights elect were permitted to have an organ there at their own expense (Chapter Book XII, 8 May 1779; ii/297).

At the service on 18 May 1803 an organ was played along with other instrumental music. Handel was the most prominent composer, his 'Dead march in Saul' was played for the ceremony with the banners of the deceased Knights (WAMS 66,340, p. 2) and at the end of the ceremony the coronation anthem 'God save the King' was sung. The service also included Purcell's Te Deum performed by the 'choir and organist of Westminster' (WAMS 66,340, p. 3). References to these services are scarce, and the order of service from 1803, quoted above, is the only one to survive at the Abbey.

Conclusions

Church and state meet in Westminster Abbey. The coronation is the epitome of this and other ceremonial services such as the installation of the Knights of the Bath and state funerals reinforce this link. The Handel commemorations fit into this pattern of the union of state and religion, even if in these the state becomes the object of worship. How much is the coronation music a mirror of English (if not British) musical life? At the Restoration the coronation music-making was centred around the court and the royal household. By 1838 the net was cast far wider and included musicians from outside the royal household and Westminster Abbey. The scale of the musical forces increased greatly from the choirs of the Chapel Royal and Westminster Abbey in 1661, expanding to 160 singers for George II and to 292 for Victoria in 1838. The instrumental forces increased in a similar way from 45 for James II to 108 for Victoria. The balance of instrumentalists to vocalists changed from being about equal to the choir being nearly three times the size of the band. The increase in power of orchestral instruments relative to the human voice is evident from this change in proportions. The repertoire was almost exclusively by English composers, reflecting the major figures in London (Purcell, Blow, Handel and Boyce). In the nineteenth century the composers included Attwood, Smart and Knyvett, who are less well regarded than their predecessors. There was an idea of historical awareness and tradition to the coronation repertoire throughout this period and Handel's place here is secure.

The coronation organ immediately after the restoration was built specifically for the coronation in a special gallery, and was used in addition to the Abbey organ. The coronation organ was of modest proportions, suited to accompanying solo voices in verse anthems. This arrangement was changed in the eighteenth century. When the Abbey organ was centrally placed on the screen it was removed for the coronation and a temporary instrument erected at the east end of the Abbey in the musicians' gallery. The instruments supplied in 1831 and 1838 were arranged so that the organist could sit in front of it to direct the musicians. By Victoria's coronation an organ with three manuals and pedals was supplied, an increase in size reflected in the orchestra and choir.

6

The Hill Era 1828-1908

In chapter 4 we considered the organ as a focal point for society. During the nineteenth century the nature of British society changed, and with it the nature of the organ. Increasing mechanisation, the increased application of mechanical power, and the steady growth of the British Empire combined to make the country confident and wealthy. Reflecting these changes, the organ increased in size, volume and variety of timbre. In Westminster Abbey the organ lost its central place on the screen in the second half of the century, re-opening a view along the length of the building, and removing its physical domination over the nave and choir. The organ also lost its central place in society, as orchestral music and the increasing size of the orchestra emerged as the grandest source of music, at least for the richer classes. Control of the increased resources of the organ was facilitated by pneumatic and electric assistance to the organ's action. At the end of the nineteenth century the Westminster Abbey organ had seventy-three speaking stops with a broader tonal spectrum, C-compass, an ambitious Pedal department, and a Celestial organ. The pace of this transformation is connected with the organists in post. During the tenure of James Turle (1831-1882) the rate of change was slow, but his successor Sir Frederick Bridge presided over a transformation of the organ in Westminster Abbey.

'Exquisite Sweetness' - The Abbey Organ 1828

Vincent Novello edited an edition of Purcell's sacred music, published in four volumes between 1828 and 1832. The manuscript copy of it that he prepared for the printer has bound in it an account from 1828 of Westminster Abbey organ. He compares it with the instruments at the Temple Church, London, and St. Paul's Cathedral:

> There are other Organs which exceed ^it in size and power; but^ that at Westminster Abbey for the exquisite quality of its tone, it has no superior.
>
> f. 7r. The Diapasons at the Temple Church perhaps posses more Delicacy & those at St. Paul's Cathedral more grandeur & force but for smoothness ^equality solemnity and^ exquisite sweetness - the Abbey Diapasons are ^probably^ the finest in the world (Lbl Add MS 9073 f. 7).

This shows that the instrument was highly regarded by Novello, who valued its tone rather than its power or grandeur. The Revd W. E. Dickson remembered this quality at the end of the century:

> The instrument... had that peculiar tone of refinement, of purity which we seem to have lost in these days of heavy wind pressure and equal temperament. The combination, 'full without reeds' was of silvery sweetness never heard in organs of the present day; I imagine that the Mixtures were of small scale, and they invariably included the Tierce and its octave now generally omitted (Dickson 1894: 16).

The Blore Organ Screen (1828) and Case (1831)

During the nineteenth century there was a move to return church architecture to its pre-Renaissance Christian roots. Gothic architecture was accepted as the most Christian and uncorrupted style for church use (Adelmann 1997: 8-9). This was linked to the nineteenth-century English fascination with the Middle Ages and gained popular as well as religious approval (Adelmann 1997: 10). The architect Edward Blore, a champion of the gothic revival, was appointed Surveyor of the Abbey about 1828 and carried out a gothic transformation in the Abbey on a grand scale that included a new gothic organ screen. The Dean and Chapter gave orders for this to be erected on 26 February 1828 (Chapter Book XV, p. 409; ii/299). A design for a new organ case followed. The Chapter order for building it was made on 1 June 1831 (Chapter Book XVI p. 71; ii/300) and the work done by Ruddle of Peterborough, commencing in April 1832 (WAMS 52,186B; ii/391, 52,207; ii/392, 66,298; ii/445 & 66,299; ii/446).

The new organ case was placed centrally on the screen despite Blore's reservations about this position. In 1828, while building the screen at Westminster, he wrote a pamphlet addressed to the Dean of Winchester about the proposal to move the organ from the side to the centre of Winchester Cathedral. His views expressed here show that he was not sympathetic to the centrally placed organ at Westminster:

> It is ... most difficult to invest an Organ with a pleasing exterior, or to place it in an appropriate situation, and it has become an unsightly object, obstructing the interior views of most of our religious edifices. Whenever, therefore, a favourable opportunity occurs of so disposing of it so as to secure all the advantages of the instrument, without obtruding it unnecessarily on the view, or obstructing the more interesting features of the building in which it is placed, the opportunity thus afforded, of escaping from a subject of great and general embarrassment, may be

> deemed a fortunate circumstance, and, in compliance with every principle of good taste and propriety ought to be embraced (Blore 1828: 3).

If it was technically feasible to have built a divided organ at this date, Blore would have done so (Blore 1828: 6). Two years later a divided organ was proposed at York in (Subscriber 1830a: 35), although a centrally placed organ was built.

From the start Blore's case was not a success and a century later it was still attracting criticism:

> Judging by such pictures as survive, Blore's effort must have been a poor, ineffective piece of work at the best. It was of a thin and meagre character and not to be compared for one moment with Shrider's stately structure (Perkins 1937: 41).

The justification for this work would have been self-evident to the gothic revivalists, who would not have approved of the eighteenth-century case that it supplanted. Ruddle's work to Blore's design was not a success, and although the case was built 'neatly', the effect on the tone of the instrument was disastrous, as explained in the following letter of 5 January 1834 from the Dean, John Ireland, to Blore:

> ... the tone of the organ is so affected by the new case, that something must be done to relieve it. As soon as I returned to this place, I found the alteration; & [p. 2] after the examination of the instrument within & without, I think I have discovered the cause, & that it admits of a remedy. This however must be done by the organ builder (Mr Hill) with whom I have appointed a meeting on Thursday morning at Eleven o'clock. - I will not enter here into a description of the mistakes of Mr Ruddle, & will only say, that he has done his work very neatly, [p. 3] but with an entire inattention to the principal, on which good-work is applied to the propagation of sound. At present the organ is rendered powerless... (WAMS 66,301; ii/447).

We do not know Ruddle's mistakes and their remedy. On 1 January 1834 the Dean and Chapter ordered that the Choir organ be 'repaired and improved according to the Proposal of Mr. Hill' (Chapter Book XVI p. 220; ii/301) for £104. Details of this work are not forthcoming, but are probably related to the troubles with the new cases. Their gothic fronts survived until 1848 when they were 'probably broken up' (Freeman 1923a: 139); the Choir case was removed to Shoreham at this time (Knight 1998). Turle took up the organist's post at the time the unsatisfactory Blore case was built; what he thought of it is not known.

An old-fashioned organ?

The specification of the organ during the first half of the nineteenth century is not preserved in any documents at the Abbey. In the 1842 edition of *Hamilton's Catechism*, an instruction book for young organists, Warren described the organ with the additions made by Hill in 1828 (Warren 1842: 54, see Appendix 4 Specification 1; ii/480). The Great and Choir organs remain as in the Shrider contract, and the Swell organ specification is probably Jordan, 1736. The stops on the Great for Pedal Pipes and Double Diapason are consistent with Hill's 1828 addition of pedal pipes playable on the pedals and the manual. The closeness to Shrider's 1730 instrument is interesting, not least since work had been done to the organ many times since it was built. It suggests that the organ was tonally successful, requiring only cleaning, mechanical work and releathering to maintain it. Therefore, in 1842, Westminster Abbey had an outdated organ with a mid-eighteenth century specification.

Turle used this organ almost exclusively for accompanying the choir and rarely played voluntaries - certainly not on weekdays. The organ was in regular daily use, as in all English cathedrals (Jebb 1843: 309). Exceptions occurred during the whole of passion week and, in some cathedrals, during Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent (Jebb 1843: 313). By the end of the century the custom of the Abbey was not to use the organ on any Fridays (unless it was a festival) as a reminder of Good Friday. At most English cathedrals matins and evensong were usually sung each day in the middle of the morning and the middle of the afternoon (Barrett 1993: 142) and this was the case at the Abbey. A static pattern of daily choral services at the hours of 10.00 and 15.00 persisted until the start of the twentieth century.

The standard of performance at these services was not high, and in 1839 had become so poor across the country that Peace published *An Apology for Cathedral Service*, where he admitted that 'for many years the particular service in question has not been upheld with the attention and dignity which befit and belong to it, and for which such generous provision has been made' (Peace 1839: 15-16). This may have applied at the Abbey. In 1844 the

choir was in need of new work at least as much as Blore's new stalls where they sat; neglect was the characteristic of the choral service:

> The choir, till of late years, [f.n. The Choir is now augmented, and the service much improved, but still not what it ought to be nor is any increased attendance of Minor Canons, who ought to form the strength of the choir, enforced or attempted] wretchedly few in number, were permitted to perform their duties by deputy; and these were discharged in a manner which at best was barely tolerable, without life of energy. The lessons were read with the same degree of solemnity as the most ordinary document by a clerk in a court of law. The service was opened in a manner most careless; no decent procession was made and the striking of a wretched clock was the signal for beginning to race through the office; there was a squalid neglect in all the accessories of divine worship; the books were torn and soiled, and the custom of the place apparently enjoined on the choir boys the use of surpluses more black than white. The whole aspect of the church plainly indicated the mechanical performance of a burthensome duty (Jebb 1843: 130-132).

The deputy system referred to by Jebb was a tradition by which regular members of the choir did not attend a service and sent another singer in their place. The improvement to the choir mentioned by Jebb was not far reaching, for in 1845 the writer Edward Taylor referred to:

> The miserable wreck of a choir which may be daily seen (scarcely heard) at St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey (Taylor 1845: 27).

Despite the sorry state of affairs described by Jebb and Taylor the Abbey enjoyed the approbation of some eminent musicians, including Sir George Grove:

> Many an entrancing hour have I spent in the Abbey at the afternoon service in the winter months with the dim candles below and the impenetrable gloom above, when I thought my heart must have come out of me with emotion and longing (Graves, *Life of Sir George Grove*, 17 cited Perkins 1937: 44).

Edward Hopkins, in a paper read before the National Society of Professional Musicians in 1886, recalled the Abbey choir under Turle:

> At Westminster Abbey the daily services were, generally speaking, rendered in a much better manner [than at St. Paul's], one of the reasons being that Mr. Turle, the organist, was, as a rule, always in personal attendance. But there was one very curious custom that prevailed there. On a Sunday morning, after the singing of the Nicene Creed and before the sermon, most of the vicars-choral would leave the choir and go off to sing elsewhere, leaving the harmonies to the 'amens' in the concluding portion of the service to be supported as chance might permit (cited Spark 1888: 352)

In 1840 22 cathedral organists sent a memorial with a petition to the Dean and Chapter of each cathedral in England and Wales, lamenting the state of cathedral music and suggesting action to take for its improvement (WAMS 52,823; ii/392). The poor state of cathedral

music may be further imagined from the requests for improvement suggested. These included a choir with at least four each of alto, tenor and bass singers (giving two to each side of the choir in the antiphonal arrangement used in cathedrals), with an appropriate number of boys; to have a room where the choir might practise once a week; for the boys to be taught the rudiments of music and to play instruments as well as to sing; and for the organist to attend each service and to spend some time planning music for the choir. The size of the Westminster choir in 1845 was twelve men and eight boys (WAMS 33,876; ii/366). These may not all have attended each service. When Lord John Thynne was appointed Sub-Dean in 1835 it was the custom for only three of the choirmen to attend on weekdays and five on Sundays (Thynne, Memoranda in Refutation, Lwa). In 1855 the number of choristers increased to twelve, but seven of the twelve men were not fit to sing. The Treasurer's accounts record the payment on Sundays of deputies 'until the decease of 7 seniors' (WAMS 33,889; ii/367). The choir remained at twelve men and twelve boys throughout the century.

Hill Proposals, 1843 and the 1848 rebuild

Hill rebuilt the Abbey organ in 1848. Discussions about the rebuild began in 1843 and developed over the intervening five years. The Hill Estimate Book (Vol Est 1 Letter Book p. 135; ii/462) has an estimate dated 3 April 1843 for 'improvements and alterations' to the organ. The Great and Pedal organs were the most substantially altered and new soundboards down to CC, a fourth below GG, were provided for the Great. The pedal pipes were removed from inside the organ case, laid horizontally on the screen, and given a compass from C to c^1, which made them start an octave above the lowest note on the Great. New pipes supplied to the Great organ included a Double Diapason and Bourdon, both at 16' pitch, and a Double Dulciana 16' in place of the Sesquialtera. The compass to CC on the Great and the proposed three 16' stops on the manuals all suggest the provision of a strong bass without the use of the pedals. The organ was to be divided on each side of the screen whilst retaining mechanical action. This was a technical challenge for Hill, who must have been confident of his ability to build a large mechanical action organ with a non-standard layout. The proposals included the addition of three composition pedals. This aid

to registration was first used in 1820 by Bishop (Thistlethwaite 1990: 54), and was the only recent mechanical device in the rebuilt organ. The rest of it was to remain as it was as far as possible (Vol Est 1 Letter Book p. 166-7; ii/462). (For the proposed specifications of the new Great and Swell organs see Specification 2; ii/480). No casework was included in the estimate, and a zinc front was specified as an 'extra' in 1848 (Vol Est 1 Letter Book p. 211; ii/463).

There is an eyewitness account of the rebuilding of the organ, in a letter from William Burton to his goddaughter, written in Ember Week, Lent 1848. Burton was impressed by Hill's work and left an enthusiastic account of it:

> [p.2] [The organ] is divided into four distinct parts and the organist sits as it were in the middle of four organs, having one behind and before, and right and left....
>
> [p. 3] The mechanisms from the key Table to all the parts, East, West North and South are very curious as you can [p. 4] imagine, but all difficulties are overcome by the aid of some celebrated Germans whose aid has been requested, as they beat us in these matters - I counted 38 stops, and there was a number of holes apparently for others. The key Table stands in the center and might be taken for a Grand Pianoforte.... The Swell is curiously managed. The lever put down with the foot [p. 5] as it were completely uncovers the Swell Organ and as quickly encloses it, just as you would lift a dish cover off a joint of meat.... The cases for the 2 large Organs are very rich Gothick work with pinnacles towering up to the very point of the great arches beneath which they are. The pipes are elaborately emblazoned.... (WAMS 63,746; ii/442)

The console in the middle of the screen with the organist surrounded by the organ behind and in front of him must have been impressive. Despite the harsh judgement of history, Blore must have been appreciated in his time. In November 1844 the Dean and Chapter approved his far-reaching plans to lower the whole of the choir by three feet, to remove the screens separating the choir from the transepts, to move the organ and to put in new stalls and pews (Carpenter 1972: 285). The organ was divided each side of the screen at this date and no longer broke up the central aisle of the church. Blore must have been much happier with this arrangement and had two reasons to justify it. Firstly, he could admit of no historical precedent for a centrally positioned cathedral organ (Blore 1828: 5). Secondly, the effect on the interior of the Abbey was 'striking and ... universally admired' (Blore 1828: 6). The new choir was first used on Easter day 1844 (Carpenter 1972: 285). Sadly no further details have yet emerged about the 'celebrated Germans' who overcame the action difficulties for the layout of this organ. This must have been a mechanical solution to

the problems rather than pneumatic assistance since one of the reasons given for the failing of this organ later in the century was lack of pneumatic action. The newly rebuilt organ was described in *The Illustrated London News*, 17 June 1848:

> The great organs which fill up the spaces between the third and fourth pillars westwards of the choir, are alike in external character, and have lofty octagonal pinnacles of open-work arches, with buttresses &c. over the centre and end compartments. The metal pipes to the three fronts of the organ are gilded, and have arabesques painted on them. Not only has the exterior of the organ been thus altered, but the compass and power of the instrument has been greatly added to; and from the peculiar arrangement of the choir and great organs, the mechanical skill displayed in their construction is most surprising. The organist sits at the keys which are arranged in triple rows on a large desk, and within which latter are the movements necessary for acting on the choir organ at the right side, the great organs before and behind, and the enormous pedal pipes which re arranged in tiers along the organ loft on the left hand of the organist; and, as may be imagined, a vast amount of ingenious contrivance has been resorted to in order to attain the required end. The tones of the organ are exquisitely fine, and the vast pile of the Abbey has now an organ worthy of its extent and beauty and when its full depth of sound is poured forth, every part of the building seems filled with a mighty voice.

A specification of the rebuilt organ is in the 1855 edition of Hopkins and Rimbault's *The Organ* and is given as Specification 3 (ii/480). By comparison with Specification 1 we see that the Choir organ lost its Fifteenth and gained a Hohl Flute and Open Diapason, and the provision of couplers is more comprehensive than suggested in the proposals. The couplers included Great to Pedal at 16 and 8' pitches and the Choir to Pedal at 16' pitch only. Hill's alterations transformed the fabric of the instrument to contain the increased compass, new position and larger Pedal division. Despite this transformation the chorus structure of the Great was still much as Shrider left it.

How did Turle use this organ to accompany the choir? Many nineteenth-century church and cathedral organists were censured for playing too loudly and drowning the singers. In 1848 Frederick Sutton wrote:

> At present in many churches the choir might almost as well be silent, for the whole service is thundered by the Organ, so that the voices are only audible at intervals, and those very wide ones too. Lately many organists have used the chorus stops but little during Cathedral service, with the intention of allowing the voices to be better heard; but they forget that three modern heavily voiced diapasons, coupled to a full swell (the swell is now nearly as large as the great Organ, and contains often a double diapason), and accompanied with pedal pipes, on a very large scale, are far more overpowering than the brilliant chorus of the ancient Organ (Sutton 1979: 4-5).

Sutton here describes a playing style with a concentration of 8' tone for accompaniment, and the employment of the Swell organ with most of the stops drawn all the time. We do not know if Turle played in this tradition; the praise his playing received from other critics leaves it open to question. Predominant use of the full Swell could swamp the choir and disguise rather than enhance its performance. In cathedrals where the choral resources were inadequate it is tempting to suggest that this style was purposely adopted in an effort to deflect attention from the choir. Complaints like the following were not uncommon:

> It is impossible to avoid seeing that in some places the tendency is even now increasing to make too much of both choir and organ; to make, first, the choir the substitute for the people, and then, to overplay the choir with the organ (anon 1849: 24).

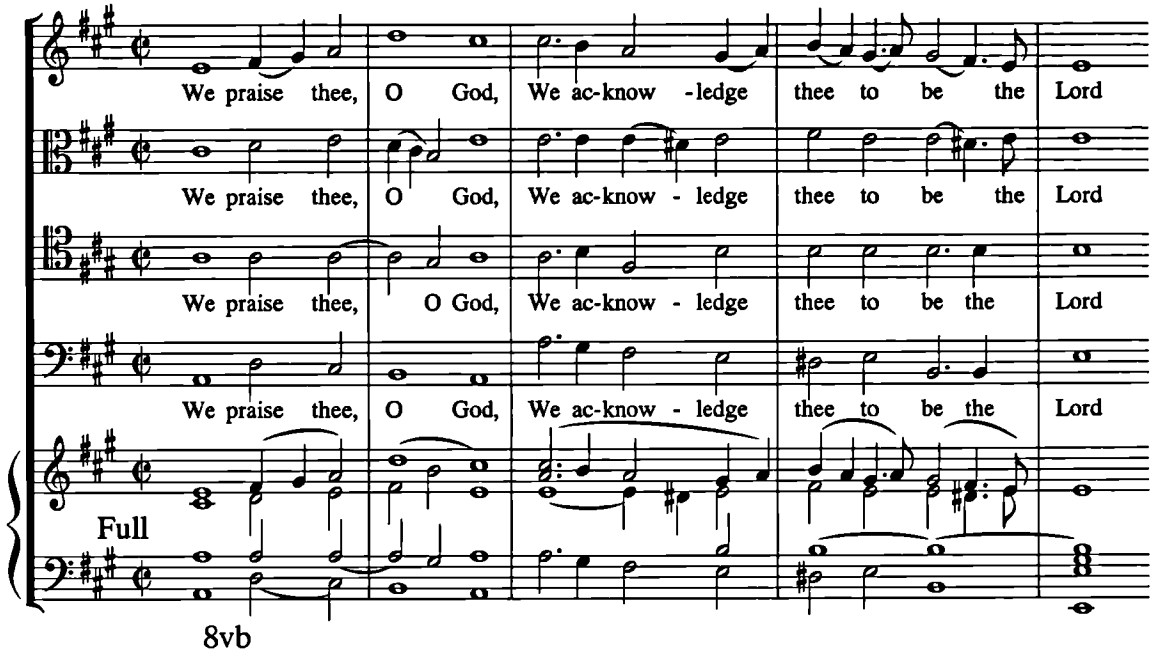
What was happening at the Abbey?

Organ parts to Anthems

The editions of music in use at the Abbey might have influenced the performance of the music. In 1811 Vincent Novello founded a publishing house which developed a vast catalogue of sacred choral music. Anthems and services from the eighteenth century and before had organ parts prepared for them, often by Vincent Novello, instead of a figured bass. Various nineteenth-century editions of music predominated in the Abbey choir library. For example, the edition of Arnold's 1790 collection *Cathedral Music* in use was edited by Rimbault 'with an accompaniment for the organ' in 1843. The organ parts supplied for full anthems tend to follow the vocal lines, whilst those for verse anthems have an independent part supplied to accompany the solo, with figured bass omitted. This develops the eighteenth-century practice used in John Page's *Harmonia Sacra* (1800). In full anthems he places the organ part on the lowest stave with a figured bass, leaving the organist to follow the vocal parts if desired, while in verse anthems upper parts for the organ are notated on a separate stave when the vocal soloist is silent.

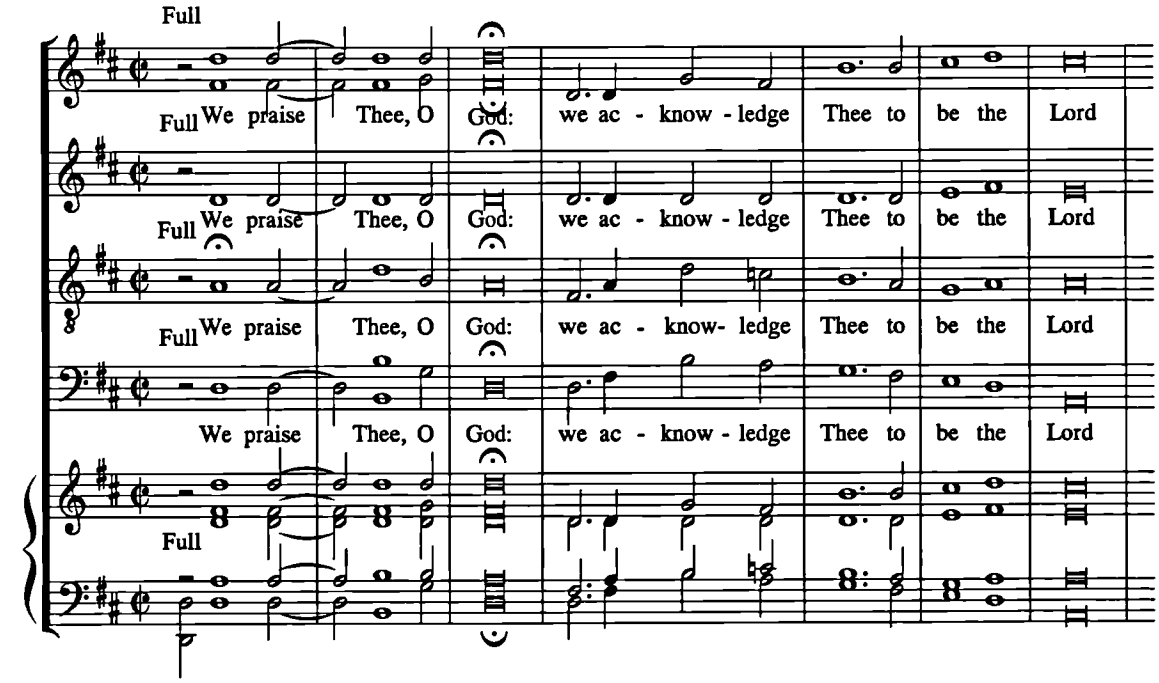
The dynamic level suggested by full organ at the opening of a nineteenth-century edition of Orlando Gibbons's Te Deum in F may have been greater than we now associate with this repertoire. Example 1 is from Vincent Novello's edition of Boyce's Te Deum in A, with a full written-out organ part, octave doubling of the bass line indicated and the implied use of

full organ. Boyce's *15 Anthems together with a Te Deum & Jubilate in Score, Composed for the Royal Chapels* (1780), published by his widow, had a one-stave figured bass part for the accompaniment.



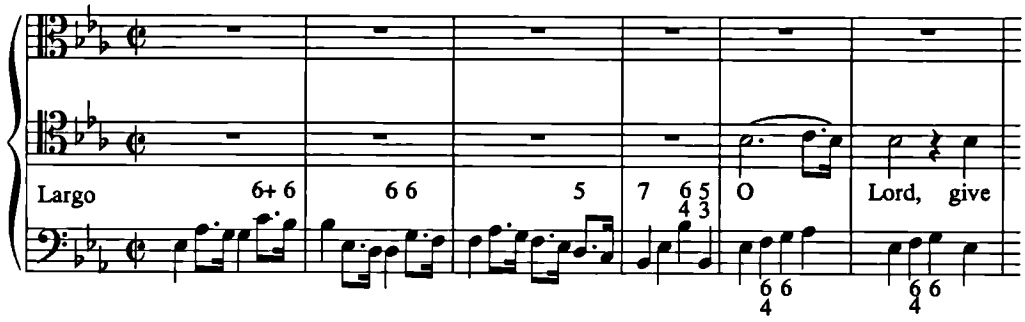
Ex. 1 Boyce, Te Deum in A, Novello edition

The accompaniment for the Boyce Te Deum is similar to Turle's in his Te Deum in D major, and the opening of this is shown in Example 2. They both double the vocal parts with slight variations in the phrasing and detail.

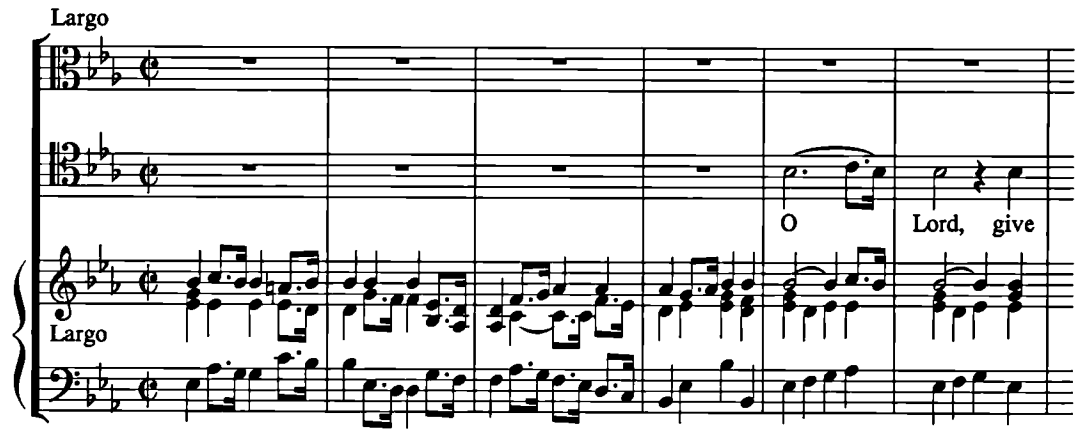


Ex. 2 Turle, Te Deum in D major, opening

Example 3 is from Greene's verse anthem 'O Lord give ear to my prayer'. Example 3a was published in 1743 during the composer's lifetime, and Example 3b comes from the edition by Vincent Novello. The later edition has a fuller written-out accompaniment, in an appropriate style.



Ex. 3a Greene, 'O Lord give ear', 1743 ed.



Ex. 3b Greene, 'O Lord give ear', Novello ed.

Turle was an exponent of an orchestral style of organ playing, and artistic use of stop changes was part of his style of accompaniment. This was appropriate to the style of the organ after the Hill rebuild of 1848. In an account of Turle's playing William Burton tells us:

> ... it is a good thing for an Organist to have as it were a vast orchestra at his Command, for our mind only to govern, and especially such a master mind as Mr Turles is to use it judiciously when wanted, and not like some of the Old City Organist's who think of nothing but noise, and seem to have no idea of ever putting in a stop. Mr Turle beautifully manages, under his masterly fingers [p. 7] his organ almost speaks the words whether of prayer or praise which it accompanies - He is

> sometimes very sparing of his Organ, Perhaps just striking off a chant and then have the Choir all through a Psalm by themselves, when at the Gloria he puts forth all his strength (WAMS 63,746; ii/442).

Burton draws attention to Turle's judicious use of the resources of the organ, using the quiet effects as well as the great power at his command. The idea of the organ as an orchestra is promoted, and the Abbey organ was felt to be suitable for this style of playing. Direct analogies with orchestral playing were not made of earlier organists, for example, in the description of Robinson's playing the individual stops were identified specifically (see above p. 73); the generic term of 'orchestral' came into use in the nineteenth century. The music critic of *The Atlas* described Turle's playing at the Purcell commemoration service in 1848:

> The style of the responses, the chanting, accompanied with an exquisite variety of effects by Mr. Turle... the full and fine combinations of the choir with the judicious contrasts of the organ, which answers its object as an accompanying instrument most perfectly.... Then the Organ. It is absolutely impossible to make a noise with so beautiful an instrument. When the whole of the stops are drawn the effect is only what Shakespeare calls "sweet thunder". Now that this organ is thoroughly tuned and rendered smooth, it surpasses in volume and combination anything that we ever heard. No foreign organ can vie with it in weight and richness of quality - though that in the Royal Catholic Church at Dresden certainly speaks a more well-defined C of 32 feet. In the accompanying of voices, however, this instrument is admirably designed - from the most minute and most delicate tones of the diapasons in the swell, to its grandest combination, it forms one immense engine of perpetual variety. Mr. Turle employed it with the greatest taste and address; without overdoing his part - interfering with or covering the choir, he found an opportunity to let all the finest effects of his instrument be heard.... (Bumpus 1908: 1/156-7).

The terms 'sweet thunder' and 'rendered smooth', presumably a reference to the regulation of the pipes, imply a legato style of playing, and 'judicious contrasts' and 'perpetual variety' suggest an orchestral approach to registration. Example 1, the Novello edition of Boyce, has a generous supply of phrase marks, which implies a greater use of legato than required by the vocal phrasing. Variety, and not volume, was important, and the Abbey organ had this. That 'it is ... impossible to make a noise' implies that the organ was not painfully loud in any way, and that the new 32 feet pipes along with the rest of the expanded Pedal division were of particular effect in the Abbey.

The Repertoire at Westminster Abbey

In the seventeenth century a tradition of preserving old works developed in the cathedrals and the Chapel Royal. At the Restoration services and anthems by Byrd, Tallis and their

contemporaries remained in the repertoire (Weber 1992: vii) alongside anthems by Restoration composers. This tradition of keeping alive ancient music alongside new works continued into the nineteenth century at the Abbey. William Gardiner of Leicester, a writer and minor composer, described hearing Tallis and Gibbons at the Abbey in the early 1830s:

> On Whit Sunday we repaired to Westminster Abbey, to hear the responses of Tallis always performed on this day. They are grand specimens of the simple evolutions of harmony in the time of Henry VIII and give us an exalted idea of the genius of his chief musician. In the course of the service we had some pieces from Orlando Gibbons, a style more melodious than the preceding age, yet far from the perfection of the present day... (cited Bumpus 1908: 2/392).

The idea of progress which was developed in the Enlightenment is evident in Gardiner's comments; he saw the nineteenth-century composers as better than the early ones, not just different. The performance of music by Tallis and its popularity with the public is mentioned by Edward Taylor:

> Whenever the 'Tallis day' occurs, Westminster Abbey is thronged with hearers. A still greater attractive power is perceptible at the yearly commemoration of Purcell in the same place (Taylor 1845: 32).

The 'attractive power' of the Purcell commemoration was recorded by William Spark in 1853, who was present with many other celebrated musicians:

> I first made the acquaintance of Dr Louis Spohr in Westminster Abbey, in 1853. It was on the occasion of the last Purcell commemoration day. With Henry Smart, Dr Edward Hopkins, Charles Stephens, Attwood, Walmisley, and other musical celebrities, I put on a surplice and sang in the choir.... Especially do I remember noticing what observance Spohr paid to the chanting of the Church's versicles and responses, and to the prolongation of the final soft notes of the choir in that vast, vaulted building.... (Spark 1888: 51-2).

Jebb praised the choice of music of which he had previously lamented the performance:

> The selection of Church music at Westminster Abbey... reflects the highest credit on the science, taste and religious feeling of Mr. Turle. The best compositions of the old masters of the Anglo-Catholic Church music are performed there. From the crowded state of that venerable sanctuary on a Sunday afternoon, and the devout attention of its congregation, it may be seen how well the masters of that music knew how they might reach the avenues of the human heart, and how powerful an influence they might exercise over its affections (Jebb 1843: 58).

Purcell and Gibbons appear in an account of Turle's choice of music written by Dickinson in 1894. The writer referred to 'the style of music exclusively in use at the Abbey, i.e. Services of Aldrich, Gibbons, and Rogers; anthems of Boyce, Croft, Greene, and Purcell'

(cited Watkins Shaw 1991: 337). These composers are all well-represented in the Triforium Music (ii/487) and printed music (ii/492) at the Abbey.

The Psalms

Singing the psalms in Anglican chant is an important element of both morning and evening prayer (see Wilson 1996 for a full exploration of this subject). The performance of this changed over the course of the nineteenth century with the adoption of systematic pointing, and a new approach was taken to the meter of the chant. A degree of freedom from metrical regularity is encouraged by Jebb, creating the effect of 'the majestic roll of the chant, which resembles the voice of many waters' (Jebb 1843: 305). Pointed Psalters appeared from 1831 (Temperley 1981: 178) but it was not until 1875 that *The Cathedral Psalter*, which had James Turle and the Precentor of the Abbey among its editors, published an agreed systematic method of pointing the psalms (Barrett 1993: 149). Before this the lack of written down pointing could lead to confusion. There was, however, a systematic way of chanting in general use before pointing appeared in psalters. Latrobe's defence of the chant explains the 'Cathedral Mode', which established a pattern for changing notes in a chant:

> Each verse is divided into two parts. *Single chants* have only two parts, and therefore embrace but one verse - *double chants* have four parts, and take in two verses. But the same rule holds good whether the chant is single or double, that *the last three syllables of the first part*, and *the last five of the second* are applied to the slow notes; so that the place where the chant turns off from running upon one note, is, in the first part at the *third last syllable*, and in the second at *the fifth last syllable*. When the chant is double, the third part is like the first, and the fourth like the second (Latrobe 1838: 9-10).

Latrobe encouraged alteration to this practice according to the accents of the text. A strict metrical performance of the chant by the organist is discouraged:

> The very design of the *one long note* upon which the first part runs is to afford time for the steady and clear pronunciation of each syllable and word; and for this purpose the organist should vary its duration according to the length of the verse (Latrobe 1838: 17).

The instruction to vary the length of the note according to the number of syllables was necessary. At the start of the century the organist would play the chant in more or less strict time, leaving a long recitation to be sung rapidly and the rest of the verse dragged out (Temperley 1981: 177). A middle course between these two approaches was taken in the preface to *The Cathedral Psalter*, which is likely to reflect the performance at Westminster. The editors ask for the recitation - the text to the first note of the chant - to be taken outside

the meter of the chant, and made any length. This was called the reciting note. The rest of the chant was taken metrically, with the minims subdivided if necessary, according to the demands of the text. This ideal may not have achieved the desired result. An account of the psalm singing at the Abbey from the end of Turle's time written by Herbert Wilton Hall found that:

> The recitative was gabbled through at a surprising speed, with no attention to the enunciation of the words; the 'musical effects' were everything -- the words of no great importance (Lwa Pamphlet 43, p. 10).

At the Abbey the psalm was started by playing the bass notes of the first half of the chant on the organ. If the organ was not in use the bass singers would begin the chant on their own, the full choir entering at the second half (Lwa Pamphlet 43, p. 7). The organ has a special place in the tradition of psalm singing, and the Swell organ is of particular importance in their accompaniment:

> It ought to be remembered that one of the greatest improvements in the Organ, that of the swell, was made by an English artist and there is nothing which more contributes to the life and expression of the Chant, than its moderate use. The instrument, however is now mentioned with special reference to this part of the service. It should be played in a slow, flowing, and even manner, the melody as well as the recitation being given deliberately, and all jerking avoided. The principal and stopped diapason ought to be chiefly used, the noisy stops such as the trumpet, cornet, and sesquialtera very rarely the Choir Organ being chiefly used in the verses, the Great Organ in the Gloria Patri and such parts as ought to be sung in Chorus, but never so as to overpower the voices. When the swell is employed, the verse in which it occurs ought to be preconcerted with the choir, that their voices may rise with it a precaution too much neglected in our Choirs. The first verse of a Psalm, is sometimes performed with a crash upon the full organ even though it may be deeply penitential. This ought to be carefully avoided, and the character of the Psalm be diligently consulted (Jebb 1843: 309-10).

The above passage implies that 'musical effects' on the organ, at the expense of hearing the choir, were not unusual at this time. (These general comments are to put the Abbey in context.) An appropriate use of varied registration to accompany the psalms seems not to have been generally widespread, and in 1843 Jebb sought to encourage this practice:

> If the judicious but not too frequent changes of stops were attended to, and made a matter of study by the organist, the alleged monotony of the single Chants would be obviated (Jebb 1843: 310).

The difference between a sensitive and an inappropriate accompaniment eluded some organists. Inappropriate use of the organ could be distracting to worship, as John Sutton records:

> Every lover of true Cathedral Music must have experienced how much [adding swells and composition pedals] mar the effect of that most devotional manner of performing the Church Service. In the chanting of the Psalms, the attention is continually drawn from the voices by the perpetual changing of stops and clattering of composition pedals, for the modern cathedral organist scarcely ever accompanies six verses on the same stops, or even on the same row of keys, and keeps up a perpetual thundering with the pedals throughout the Psalms, when perhaps the choir he is accompanying, consists of ten little boys, and six or at the most eight men, three or four of whom are disabled by old age, or a long continued habit of drunkenness (Sutton 1979: 3-4).

The effect of the use of swells and composition pedals was a menace in some cathedrals by 1847, when Sutton was writing. The frequent change of subject and mood in the psalms encouraged organists to abuse the possibility for corresponding stop changes, distracting the congregation from the text of the psalm that they were seeking to illustrate.

The Style of Performance: James Turle

James Turle was widely praised for his skill as an accompanist. For example:

> This organ gains much of course from the nature of the place in which it is heard and from the masterly manner in which it is touched by the present organist, Mr. Turle, whose accompaniment of the Choral Service is quite a model for that kind of organ playing (Sutton 1979: 68).

Turle's model organ playing was described by Dickson in the continuation of the passage quoted above on p. 137:

> The combination, 'full without reeds' was of silvery sweetness.... Mr Turle was in the habit of using this combination freely in the accompaniment of the voices, and it suited admirably the style of music exclusively in use at the Abbey, which was that of the strict ecclesiastical school (Dickson 1894: 16).

This description making mention of the use of the mixtures agrees with Sutton's strictures on the use of 8' tone and of registration to allow the voices to be heard. At times Turle must have coaxed an impressive sound from the organ:

> The service was admirably played on the organ by Mr. Turle with a gigantic hand grasping as many notes as he had fingers, added to the double diapasons, played by his feet (William Gardiner, in Bumpus 1908: 2/392).

The size of Turle's hand was the subject of some interest. A story perpetuated by F. G. Edwards testifies to this:

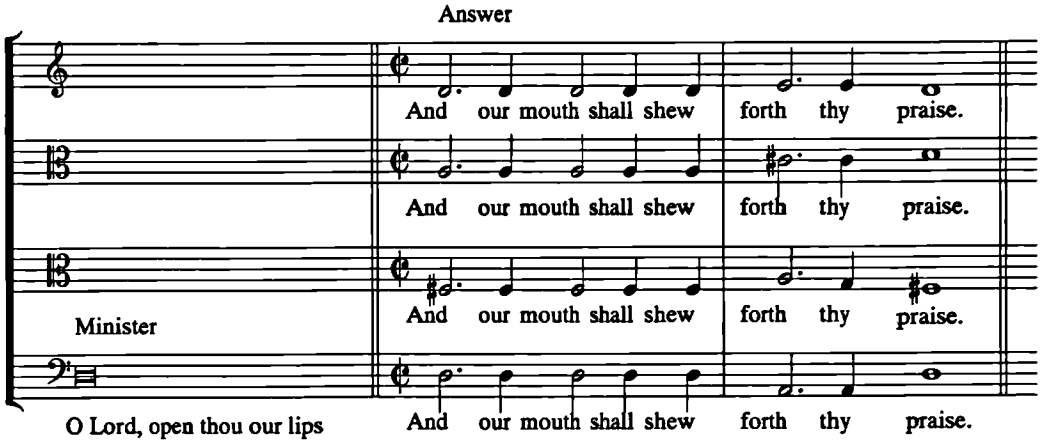
> On one occasion at the Prussian Embassy, [Turle] met the Chevalier Neukomm, who boasted that he could extend his hand on the keyboard over an octave and three notes. Turle quietly approached the pianoforte, and taking an octave and a half in his enormous hand, exclaimed "one more for luck" (Edwards 1907: 448).

The reference to 'handfuls of notes' is from the 1830s, before the organ had undergone its extensive rebuild by Hill. It was still then essentially an eighteenth-century organ. Music composed for this instrument by Benjamin Cooke (Lcm MS 810) includes many chords with very many notes. Was this instrument weak in the bass? It is possible that before 1848 the Pedal division was of limited utility, and that a playing style employing large chords used to compensate for this deficiency. Alternatively, a taste for bass-heavy chords may have arisen since the organ was built, or Turle was perpetuating a style inherited from his predecessors.

The style of singing the responses used daily at the Abbey was notated and published by Rimbault in 1846. Rimbault places the tune in the treble, a change from its original usage with it in the tenor. This re-distribution of the parts came in for criticism

> In some choirs, as Winchester, Exeter, Westminster &c., the Responses have been printed from those which have been found in ordinary traditional use. The old practice of putting the plain chant in the tenor having been, it must be supposed, overlooked by the Precentor or the arranger, it has been in some instances printed in the treble, and the other parts added below. This has been the case at Westminster and Exeter; the Litany in use at which places is but an inversion of Birds [sic] Litany.... The extreme parts of this last, which alone are extant, suppose the plain chant in the tenor. The arrangement at Westminster and Exeter have it in the treble (Anon 1849: 24).

A comparison of the Byrd Preces and Responses with Rimbault's notation of the service shows it is not similar enough to be an arrangement of the former (Byrd 1980: 1, 9). There is insufficient congruence with the Tallis responses for Rimbault to be an arrangement of them (Tallis 1985: 3) and all similarity ceases after the first response, Example 4.



Ex. 4 The opening of the service at Westminster Abbey (Rimbault 1846: 1)

In 1858 Sunday evening services in the nave were instituted, which were immensely popular. They included congregational hymn singing and encouragement to join in singing the psalms. This format was copied at St. Paul's Cathedral and York Minster with equal success (Temperley 1981: 174). One result of the mid-nineteenth century Anglican revival resulting from the Oxford Movement was a new interest in hymn singing (Routley 1983: 53ff). Hymns were introduced into cathedral services from the middle of the century (Barrett 1993: 153). The *Westminster Abbey Hymn Book* was compiled for these services by the Dean and the Precentor (Wilton-Hall, Lwa Pamphlet 43, p. 10). The first edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was published in 1861, a hymnal designed to complement the Book of Common Prayer (Routley 1983: 55). St. Paul's Cathedral introduced congregational hymns in 1871 and Worcester in 1882 (Barrett 1974: 22). By 1884 a hymn from *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was included at the Abbey during the Sunday services (Box 1884: 97).

The organ must have given adequate service for some time but in June 1861 Turle wrote to the Dean and Chapter drawing their attention to various deficiencies in it. He attributes these to dirt and dust that damaged the action and had a detrimental effect on the speech of the pipes, making it impossible to tune 'many of the finest and most important stops' (Letter of Turle to the Dean & Chapter, 19 June 1861; RCO Box 5; ii/323). Cleaning the stone arches in the Abbey, and the large number visitors and the evening services in the nave had exacerbated the build up of dust in the thirteen years since 1848. In 1865 Turle wrote again on the state of the organ. By now the instrument's deficiencies had increased considerably. The action was considered too heavy, and was 'laborious and painful to the player'. Turle had recently been playing on the organ in St. Paul's Cathedral where pneumatic action had recently been introduced, and he wanted this on the Abbey organ (Letter to the Dean and Chapter, 26 June 1865. RCO Box 5; ii/323). He also wanted to add 'a Tuba and a few other modern stops' (letter of 14 July 1868 to Turle from William Hill, RCO Box 5; ii/324).

How much did Turle use this failing organ? His return to the 1867 ecclesiastical commission showed that he presided at the organ twice daily throughout the year. He was only allowed a substitute in illness or during leave of absence, and had to find and pay the substitute himself (Ecclesiastical Commissioners 1867: 480-1). The use of the organ for voluntaries in the nineteenth century varied in cathedrals around England. For example, in the 1870s there was a voluntary before the sermon at Worcester (Barrett 1993: 68), and records at this cathedral state that a long improvisation on the organ before the anthem on Sunday evening was a common feature at all cathedrals at that date (Barrett 1993: 189). The use of a voluntary after the psalms at matins and evensong had fallen out of use by 1870 to 1880, although it persisted long into the nineteenth century in some places (Barrett 1993: 185). In 1843 it was still practised at York and Lichfield Cathedrals, who were more the exception than the rule (Jebb 1843: 317 & fn).

Before 1869 Turle did not play voluntaries at the end of the services. During this year the Dean and Chapter asked him to change his habits:

> That the treasurer be allowed to make a further augmentation of £50 to the present allowance to the Organist... and that the Dean be requested to impose upon him as a condition that henceforth a short voluntary be played at the termination of the services in the Church, Fridays excepted (Chapter Book XXII, 10 August 1869, p. 64; ii/306).

Despite this the playing of organ voluntaries on weekdays was still not a regular feature of the Abbey services by 1882. Given Turle's attitude to voluntaries it is no surprise that no written organ music by him survives and there are no accounts of him improvising before or after services. On his appointment Bridge introduced more regular playing of voluntaries for all the services, and found that the men who blew the organ were greatly put out:

> I do not think my predecessor played 'in' very often on week-days, and he only played a few chords 'out', I, however, played voluntaries of decent length, at which the three blowers grumbled much... (Bridge 1918: 127).

Barrett suggests that there is a link between the playing of voluntaries before and after the service and an orderly procession of the choir and clergy before the service (Barrett 1993: 154 & 155). On great festivals and days of ceremony it was usual for the members of the cathedral church to enter in procession, the organ playing until they were settled in their places (Jebb 1843: 229). This was the practice at Westminster. On ordinary occasions the

prebendaries and choir would arrive independently with neither organ voluntary or procession, the striking of a clock signalling the start of the service (Jebb 1843: 229 & fn). Was there an improvement in this respect at the Abbey with the advent of regular daily voluntaries? In 1884 Charles Box, who lived in London and wrote widely about the church services in the metropolis, asserted that there was a voluntary at both the beginning and end of a choral service (Box 1884: 236-7).

An estimate for 'repairs and improvements' to the organ was sent by Hill in July 1868 (RCO Box 5; ii/324). The estimate was in two sections, the first dealing with necessary work, and the second with alterations and improvements. The necessary work was to clean and regulate the organ for £30. The improvements are the beginning of a tonal transformation by the addition of a Solo manual containing a Tuba and Open Diapason 8' with four stops prepared for. The Tuba was on 11 inches of wind, with separate bellows. The large Solo Tuba developed by Hill earlier in the century was first used in the Birmingham Town Hall organ in 1840 (Thistlethwaite 1990: 132). For added effect the 'Tuba pipes [were] to be pointed towards the nave, so as to be made more effective for the services held there'. This additional work cost £200. These changes reveal new priorities for the organ. For £30 the Dean and Chapter could have had their organ working and in good order, but for the addition of a fourth manual division with two stops they spent a further £200. The faults with the action were overlooked in the quest for power. Although in 1861 pneumatic assistance was desired to ease the player's efforts with the heavy mechanical action, by 1865 this was forgotten. Instead of lightening the action a further manual with a Tuba on 11 inch wind pressure that could be coupled to the Great was introduced, adding weight to an already heavy action. Was the Abbey organist happy to endure this problem to gain a new Tuba stop? These repairs and alterations were completed to Turle's satisfaction by 8 December 1868 (RCO Box 5; ii/324).

The four speaking stops to complete the Solo organ were given by George Cavendish Bentinck, the Member of Parliament for Whitehaven, in 1871 (RCO Box 5, 26 November 1871; ii/325). Three years before this Hill had built a new organ in Bentinck's constituency at St. Bee's Priory Church. It is tempting to speculate about any links there may have been

between Bentinck and Hill, but none have been found. The gift is recorded on a plaque now preserved in the Lapidarium collection at the Abbey

> THE STOPS IN THE SOLO ORGAN DESIGNATED RESPECTIVELY VOX HUMANA HARMONIC FLUTE ORCHESTRAL OBOE BOURDON WERE PRESENTED IN THE YEAR 1871 TO THIS COLLEGIATE CHURCH BY GEORGE CAVENDISH BENTINCK MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE BOROUGH OF WHITEHAVEN AND SCHOLAR IN ST PETER'S COLLEGE 1833-1838... (Lapidarium Collection Catalogue, entry 13).

Bentinck called this 'making the Solo organ complete by adding the celestial stops'. The idea of celestial, or heavenly, stops, implying an effect of distance, was one which could have informed the additional four stops to the Solo organ. These were all quiet, and may have appeared distant. The idea of a distant division was to come to pass in 1895 with the gift of the Celestial organ (see below p. 173).

Tuning and Temperament

During the nineteenth century the tuning system used in English organs changed from an unequal to an equally tempered system. A. C. N. Mackenzie of Ord has proposed that a system of a modified Mean-Tone temperament was used in England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Padgham 1986: 76). In the first half of the century unequal temperament was accepted for church use when equal temperament was in use in concert hall organs (Kent 1990: 30). Kent argues that the wider musical demands made of organs by the repertoire gave impetus to the change towards equal temperament, along with playing of orchestral transcriptions (Kent 1990: 31). In 1853 the Abbey had an unequally tempered tuning, as recorded in Spark's *Musical Memories*. He attended the Purcell commemoration in 1853, and after the service the German organist Adolph Hesse was taken up to the organ loft to perform on the organ:

> ... I went to the organ with Hesse, who, after drawing three or four foundation stops, put down the chord of A flat. Well, the sort of shriek he gave when he heard the unequal temperament of the tuning was scarcely in keeping with the solemn sacredness of the building; but he was resolute in his refusal to play, and so we were all greatly disappointed, and much regretted that the old, bad system of organ tuning - now, thank goodness! obsolete - had been allowed to remain in the Westminster Abbey organ. Hesse... said he would like to hear one of us play in a key that *was* in tune, so we persuaded Hopkins to be seated at the organ. And he rather astonished both Spohr and his nephew by playing from memory, with perfect ease and accuracy, John Sebastian Bach's grand and difficult fugue in G minor (Spark 1888: 52-3).

The Second edition of *The Organ* states that the Westminster Abbey organ is tuned to an equally tempered system (Hopkins & Rimbault 1870: 182) which had been adopted between the 1855 and 1870 editions of *The Organ*. In the Chapter minutes for 31 December 1861 Hill's Estimate for 'altering the keys for temperature [sic] tuning' (Chapter Book XXI p. 29; ii/304) could be a reference to a change of temperament. The temperament in use before retuning is not known but must have favoured the most familiar keys up to F minor.

What was the organ being used to accompany? The regular publication of service sheets, or lists of music to be performed at the services in the Abbey began around or before July 1871 (Lwa Flood Jones Collection), and the earliest recorded payment for printing these papers is from March 1872 (WAMS 52,217; ii/392). We do not know if the music was chosen in advance before this date. For instance at Salisbury Cathedral in the early nineteenth century the head boy would ask the Dean or Canon in Residence which service and anthem he wished to be sung and inform the choir and organist accordingly (Barrett 1974: 19). The earliest known nineteenth-century music list is preserved at Hereford Cathedral and is for 11-24 August 1851. The music is chiefly taken from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with a small amount of Tudor music and one contemporary service, Goss in E Evening Service (Barrett 1974: 20-21). At Westminster the earliest surviving service sheet is for the week 3-9 July 1871, which gives only the composers of the anthems. The next one to survive is for 14-21 December 1873 and is transcribed below:

Westminster Abbey, Music List, December 14-21, 1873.

Sunday 14	10	Consecration of Bishops, See special order, with HC
(3rd in Advent)	3	Walmisley in D minor
		Wise Prepare ye the way
Monday 15	10	King in C
		Evans Almighty Father
	3	King in C
		Kent Blessed be thou
Tuesday 16	10	Barrow
		Aldrich Not unto us
	3	Barrow
		Hayes Great is the Lord
Wednesday 17	10	Ouseley in B minor, Jubilate O'Neill
		[Anthem not named]
	3	Ouseley in B minor
		Mendelssohn How lovely are the messengers

Thursday 18	10	Cummings in D Barnby I bow the knee
	3	Rogers in A minor Humphreys Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous
Friday 19	10	Tallis [Anthem not named]
	3	Tallis Gibbons Almighty and Everlasting God
Saturday 20	10	Boyce in A Rogers O give thanks
	3	Goss in E Weldon Hear my crying
Sunday 21 (4th in Advent) (St. Thomas)	10	Benedicite, M Smith in F; Jubilate, King in F; Sanctus, Kyrie, Creed, Gibbons
	3	Nares in F Purcell Rejoice in the Lord

This shows that in one week the choir sang fourteen different service settings and fourteen anthems, which is a good representation of an average week's work. The composers were nearly all English from the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although Tallis from the sixteenth century and the German Mendelssohn were also represented. The music on Friday was appropriate for unaccompanied singing and was more austere, in keeping with the memorial of Good Friday. Previous Abbey organists are represented by Purcell and Gibbons.

Dr. Bridge and Proposals for Change, 1879

Dr. Frederick Bridge was the permanent deputy organist of the Abbey from 1875 under Turle, and organist from 1882. Bridge was more active as an organist than his predecessor, and introduced the performance of voluntaries of the 'proper length' after all the services (Bridge 1918: 127). What music would have been played for these? The choice of music for voluntaries after the regular services is not recorded. Some general comments on the choice of music for voluntaries are given in the sixth edition of *Hamilton's Catechism of the Organ*. The introductory voluntary should be 'grave and solemn... abounding in close-wrought harmony, and inspiring a feeling of reverential awe' (Warren c.1864: 48), and the concluding voluntary one in which:

> the organist generally shows off the full power and effects of the instrument he presides over. The pieces best suited for this occasion are those expressly composed for the organ, consisting generally of an introduction and fugue, wherein the pedals may be employed (Warren c.1864: 49).

Composers suggested include Handel, Bach, Graun, Albrechtsberger, Eberlin, Rinck and Hesse (Warren c.1864: 49). Although this book was not written for the benefit of cathedral organists, it is reasonable to suppose that cathedral usage informed Warren's comments. When there was an organ voluntary before the service Jebb prescribes that it should be jubilant before the great festivals, grave during Lent and omitted on fast days (Jebb 1843: 232).

Special orders of services from 1857 onwards are preserved in the Abbey library. These are mainly for funeral services; arrangements of Handel's Dead March from *Saul*, and funeral marches by Schubert, Chopin and Beethoven were often played. Bridge explains in his autobiography that the Dead March was regularly played at funerals, and that drum effects on the organ were regarded as obligatory in this piece (Bridge 1918: 71).

On 16 December 1879 Bridge wrote to the Dean and Chapter outlining the organ's deficiencies and seeking some action

> [The organ as it now stands] is far behind any organ of importance in the Country. It is one of the most fatiguing to play upon. The pedal board is incomplete & out of position - besides being nearly worn out There is not a single pedal for drawing any of the stops - all has to be done by hand to the great discomfort of an organist & to the detriment of his playing I fear <u>nothing</u> but a <u>great</u> alteration w[oul]d enable me to hear the choir better but improvements such as I have suggested w[oul]d add greatly to my comfort & to the completeness of the organ - I ought also to say that the supply of wind is as unsteady as possible. I am continually troubled by an absence of that essential (RCO Box 6; ii/339).

The organ had been in use for 31 years without pedals to change the stops and the request for them shows that Bridge wanted to change registration more than was possible by hand alone. The balance of the organ and choir was also unsatisfactory; Henry Willis wrote an account of the 'extraordinary difficulties' experienced by Bridge whilst accompanying a service:

> The moment the organ becomes at all emphatic it is impossible for [the organist] to hear a note of the singing and therefore the correct performance of the musical services is dependent upon the high qualities of all the officers and submission of the choir to the dictatorship of the organ.
>
> This arises from the bad disposition of the whole organ and the situation of the manuals. The organist is literally surrounded by pipes spitting their tones at him and the swell, opening as it does near the back of his head is a perfect nuisance (Letter from Willis to Canon Prothero, 13 November 1878).

The need for the organist to hear the choir was emphasised by Sutton:

> The object, then, to be aimed at, must be to place the Organ where it can be made to do its work well, and enable the Organist to hear his choir, so as to accompany the singers without difficulty (Sutton 1979: 4).

A scheme for rebuilding the organ from Henry Willis was presented to the Dean and Chapter on 28 November 1878. Willis was invited to the Abbey to view the organ and to sit with the organist before he wrote his report (Letters from Willis to Canon Prothero, the Receiver General, 9 July and 13 November 1878). This invitation is exceptional since English organ building and advising at this time was strongly divided in pro- and anti-Willis camps with organists and advisers taking a stand over the bolder Willis voicing, in continuation of an earlier dispute over Willis's introduction of 'German pedals' and standardising manual and pedal compasses with C as the lowest note. Stephen Bicknell, who is preparing a history of the Willis firm, makes the following comment:

> Westminster Abbey under Turle and Bridge was surely a bastion of the anti-Willis faction. How on earth did he ever get a chance to submit a proposal at all? (email to the author from Stephen Bicknell, 14 January 1998).

The anti-Willis feeling of Turle and Bridge must have been sorely tried with Willis in the organ loft. Was Canon Prothero the instigator of Willis's visit to the Abbey? Why did Dr. Bridge present a scheme from Willis to the Dean and Chapter if he was strongly 'anti-Willis'?

A Partisan dispute

The antagonism between the different ideals of Hill and Willis is vividly portrayed in correspondence at the Abbey. Willis, in his letters to Canon Prothero (9 July 1878 and 13 November 1878, Lewis & Willis Vol. 1 No. 1; ii/469, 470) made a systematic attack on the state of the organ as it was under Hill's care. He also provided a table of the cost of recently built cathedral organs in which Willis shows his work to be much cheaper and far better value than that of Hill. Willis asked to be appointed as the organ tuner at the Abbey with immediate effect. This would allow him to gain a greater knowledge of the organ, facilitating the preparation of a detailed scheme for its rebuilding

E. G. Monk, organist of York Minster, wrote to Hill on 27 January 1879 asking him what was happening with the organ at Westminster Abbey. Monk had heard that the organ was going to be rebuilt by Willis, and is aghast at the prospect. Monk, concerned that Hill did not know of this, wrote both to inform him and to sympathise with his friend. His colourful language makes compelling reading:

> Is it true (I hope and trust not) that the Abbey Organ is about to be given up to the same treatment which has befallen Wells, Salisbury, New Coll, Oxford and a few other famous old - but most unfortunate - organs? I trust not and hope most devoutly, that, as against noise, "music" may even now "win the day". Being dead against the modern fashion of Forcing tone, at cost of Quality; of changing the mellow, rich, and sober tones of our English cathedral organs of the best type, into the likeness of German and French instruments of the most pronounced kind; and of producing a screaming, brawling organ, neither suited for a respectable street, or tolerable as a make-shift Military Band, - I most devoutly hope that the Abbey Organ - always renowned amongst its compeers - is not about to be sacrificed to the mad, and reckless demand for more noise, that is so rife at the present time. But I have another and deeper quarrel with this tendency. Our Cathedral Organs are eminently, and chiefly, for accompanimental purposes; they should support, enforce and dignify the voices of the choir. All this our old, and best instruments of modern build, most perfectly accomplish. But not so the Willisian Monster; which (not to speak of the horror in the Albert Hall) has found entry into several of our Cathedrals - alack the day! This machine, with its heavy wind-pressure, and obstreperous style of voicing, is totally unfit to accompany an average choir; or, generally to do ought but stifle and drown it. Cathedral choirs are notoriously small, and miserably inadequate to the requirements of the noble space in which they are placed; were they usually formed of hundreds of voices, to every existing score, there might be a kind of propriety for the present rage for Stentor-like stops, and Brobdingnagian organs; but as things really are, the introduction of the noisy, blatant, coarse style which is now too much puffed off, and admired, is to my feeling, - and I venture to say in the judgement of many other musicians of more weight than my poor self - a thing to be greatly - deeply deplored. In your hands, the Abbey Treasure will be safe. May it rest there. Yours very truly E. G. Monk (RCO Box 6; ii/336, the letter has appeared elsewhere, e.g. Thistlethwaite 1990: 415, from another source).

This letter shows strong feelings against Willis. It also shows that Willis was providing a product that many people wanted, reflecting the increased national confidence as the British Empire grew, the sober tones of the elegant eighteenth century making way for the bolder sound of the nineteenth. The Willis organ was felt to be unsuitable for choral accompaniment and too likely to drown the average cathedral choir. The size of larger choirs for choral festivals must have impressed Monk; he says that the average cathedral choir is not adequate to fill with sound the large space of a cathedral. Why does he make this charge? The idea of filling the building with sound challenges the idea of the choral service taking place in the choir for the benefit of the people sitting there. It also shows a change in the way music was heard in large buildings. A small sound in a large building

was no longer acceptable, and the organ now had to sound loud throughout the Abbey. The demand for an organ to accompany the choir made by Monk would have met with favour with the Tractarians. They wanted organs for choral accompaniment, and any congregational singing led by the choir. The demands of organists wanting to play a wider and wider repertoire of voluntaries, such as Bridge, were at variance with this. The place of reed stops in the Willis organ is criticised by allusion to a military band. The two approaches to organ design, as seen by Monk, are summarised as 'noise' represented by Willis and 'music', Hill. We also learn that rebuilding cathedral organs to make them louder was considered by Monk to be a widespread practice. At York Minster in 1830 the organist was desirous of having an 'immense instrument.... to suit the grand conceptions of the organist' (Subscriber 1830b: 14-15), and Monk seems to have conveniently forgotten this.

Within a week of receiving Monk's letter Hill wrote to the Dean and Chapter of the Abbey to defend his record as their organ builder and plead to be allowed to retain the care of the organ (letter of 5 February 1879 from Hill to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, RCO Box 6; ii/337). His letter also included various hints that any confidence placed in another organ builder [Willis] may prove to be an expensive mistake. Hill wrote a well-argued letter. He reminded the Dean and Chapter that his family had served the Abbey for three generations and continued with a defence of his work at the Abbey: the removal and re-erection of the organ for three coronations, the building of the organ in its 1847 form and subsequent alterations. Hill acknowledged that criticism is levelled against his work, but showed the Dean and Chapter that his work to the organ was done with their approval, and was the result of their influence along with that of their architect, Blore. Hill then dismissed some ideas that he believed would be produce 'disastrous results' at the Abbey:

- the abolition of existing stops, altering their voicing, or tampering in any way with a tone unrivalled for the purposes of the Abbey;
- the multiplication of stops, useless for any legitimate purpose;
- the introduction of heavy wind pressures which serve no purpose but that of adding to the cost of its supply.

These points may not be specific enough to identify any single builder, and partly show Hill out of sympathy with changes in organ building taking place around him. Next, Hill used the work by Willis at Glasgow Cathedral to show that firm's ability to be extravagant with money for little musical result. The example concerns raising high pressure wind by mechanical means:

> I entertain a strong opinion that the expenditure of over £300 a year for water to work the bellows of the organ in the Metropolitan Cathedral [Glasgow, Cathedral of St. Mungo] is a grievous waste of money, for which there is no commensurate musical effect gained; nothing in short so fine as that of the Abbey Organ worked by two men! The authors of such a fiasco as this are scarcely those who can be relied upon as safe advisors of the Dean and Chapter, and it appears to me that similar extravagance would result from their mischievous intervention in the affairs of your organ.

Hill admits that there have been mechanical devices invented during the time since he rebuilt the instrument that could well be desired in the organ, and shows that these could be added by his firm as well as anyone, since he devised many of them:

> I am prepared to admit that some few mechanical appliances may be introduced with advantage to the Abbey Organ, which were not in vogue 30 years ago, and these I could carry out as well or better than anyone else, seeing that most of such appliances have had their origin in our firm. The reason for the hostility shewn to us by some members of the Committee I believe to be that we oppose the introduction of meretricious tone and contrivances unworthy of the dignity of the organ, and are too conservative in our instruments to please those who have operated on old organs with such deplorable results.

By defending himself against the charge of being conservative, Hill shows his awareness of contemporary criticism, which he is prepared to endure out of respect for the instruments he rebuilt. To conclude, Hill cast doubt on two of the committee members. He singled out Ouseley and Stainer for criticism because of their track record as organ-building consultants, they had both been involved in costly and wasteful schemes:

> I am in a position to state that the advice tendered by Sir F. Ouseley and Dr Stainer to intending purchasers of organs has often been reckless and unwise, and caused grate dissatisfaction and loss to those who acted upon their suggestions. Two discarded organs at Tenbury and one at S. Barnabas Pimlico, attest the truth of this in Sir Frederick's Case; and that at S. Giles's, S. Clements and S. John's College, Oxford, in Dr. Stainer's. The builders of these organs held flattering testimonials from one or both of these gentlemen; and yet grave disaster followed the adoption of their advice for S. Giles's organ which cost the Subscribers £700 after attempts at repair at still further cost, was abandoned ten years after construction, and sold for £100!

The examples cited by Hill of Tenbury (Willis 1874 reconstruction), St. Barnabas Pimlico (Flight 1849), St. Giles, St. Clements and St. John's college, Oxford, are an attack on the firm of Willis, amongst others.

A committee of the Dean, Sir F. Gore Ouseley, Dr. Bridge, the Precentor, Dr. Stainer and Mr. J. E. Street was appointed to consider the organ (Chapter Book XXII p. 307; ii/306). Of this group Dr. Stainer played a recent Willis organ at the nearby St. Paul's Cathedral (Thistlethwaite 1990: 435). At the committee's first meeting on 7 January 1879 (the minutes are in RCO Box 6; ii/325) the members were all present along with the Revd. Canon Duckworth, the Revd. Canon Farrar, Mr. Turle and the architect Mr. J. O. Scott. After spending some time inspecting the organ they returned to the Deanary for discussion. The discussion showed the wide ranging musical, liturgical and architectural interests of the committee. Its proposals show a concern for the better accompaniment of the services by increasing the ease of communication from the organ loft to the nave and the choir, and the increased audibility of the choir by the organist.

The committee's proposals included raising the cases of the organ and the alteration and replacement of the screen, both suggested by Willis in his letters to Canon Prothero in 1878. Bridge proposed retaining the pipework deemed to be of sufficient quality, an idea also suggested by Willis. The proposals continue with a recommendation that Willis be consulted 'on account of the great mechanical difficulties of the proposed alterations', that the blowing plant should be moved outside the church and use Willis's gas engine, and finally, that the choir men and boys be brought further forward and slightly raised (RCO Box 6, 7 January 1879; ii/325).

This report was presented to the Dean and Chapter at their meeting on 24 January 1879. As a result, orders were made for estimates for the new organ be obtained from the organ builders Mr. Lewis and Mr. Willis, and that an approximate estimate be obtained for narrowing the width of the organ screen over the entrance of the choir, rearranging the Western stalls and raising the seats occupied by the choir (Chapter Book XXII p. 314; ii/306).

Three major British organ builders eventually submitted proposals for rebuilding Westminster Abbey organ around 1879: Lewis, committed to continental ideas of Schulze and Cavaillé-Coll, the confident and innovative Willis, and Hill, the English gentleman. They 'expressed in three quite different ways their recipes for the English organ' (Bicknell 1996: 272). A comparison of these proposed specifications casts new light on the Victorian liturgical organ. How far was it removed from its classical roots? Were the proposals for a Classical or Romantic organ?

How much was mid-to-late-nineteenth century English cathedral music, and the organs built to play it, influenced by Romanticism? From a late-twentieth century perspective we may see this period of church music as Romantic and sentimental, but was this the case at the time? Gatens argues that within the framework of the times, Victorian church music composers were essentially conservative:

> Given their stylistic norms, the Victorians generally employed a conservative economy of means, and even the much-maligned later Victorian idiom was employed more as a classical than a romantic diction. This becomes apparent when most Victorian cathedral music is compared with the genuinely romantic... music... (Gatens 1986: 52-53).

If later Victorian cathedral music was more Classical than Romantic, were the organs built to perform it designed along Classical or Romantic lines? Gatens suggests there was a bias towards a Classical style in Victorian cathedral organs. Was this the case at the Abbey? The classical chorus structure of the organ is strong in all three schemes, balanced with the wider range of timbres and dynamic possibilities of the contemporary orchestra, which is most obvious in the Solo Organ, and the increased duplication of stops at the same pitch. Arguably, the need to accompany voices could account for the range of 8' tone, rather than a desire to imitate the doubling of instrumental parts in the expanding nineteenth-century orchestra. A profusion of 8' tone is useful for a style of playing with subtle variations of timbre and dynamic level. Adding stops at the same pitch can be used to effect a gradual crescendo with the individual changes of tone almost imperceptible. In terms of its stoplist the Hill proposals were the best compromise between the classical aesthetic and increasing

the range of solo voices in the context of accompanying the choral service and expanding the solo role of the organ (see Knight 1999). The deliberations of 1879 led to no immediate change. Despite the organ's shortcomings it remained as it was until 1884, when, in the words of Bridge it was 'brought fully up to date' (Bridge 1918: 77-8).

... brought fully up to date... 1884

On 20 February 1882 a scheme for rebuilding the organ by Hill was presented to the Dean and Chapter (Chapter Book XXII, p 385; ii/307). This scheme was presented in a letter, accompanied by a specification from W. Hill & Son, dated 16 November 1881 (RCO Box 6; ii/341). The letter begins with a historical sketch of the organ, showing the provenance of the existing instrument, accounts for its present state and explains why this would have looked dated in 1881. He begins his account by discussing organ compass, for both manuals and pedals, showing how the slow acceptance of the Pedal organ in England left the Abbey with a Great organ compass down to CC:

> In 1750 organs here were of very primitive design and construction, the compass being to GG in the bass, and there were no pedals, and rarely any swell. It was not till 1830 that the absolute advantage of the C compass, long the rule on the continent, began, with the introduction of the works of the great organ writers of Germany, to be accepted in England. But unfortunately owing to the absence of a school of organists accustomed to the use of pedals, the rectification of the compass of the Abbey organ took the form of extending the manuals to CCC, instead of limiting it to CC, and relegating the pipes of the CCC octave to the pedal.
>
> The first instance of the revolution in the compass was introduced by us at Christs Hospital in 1831, followed by York Minster in 1832, Birmingham Town Hall 1834, Worcester Cathedral 1842, and finally, at the Abbey in 1848, all of which have since been altered by cutting off the lower 8^{ve} and providing an equivalent in the shape of a separate pedal organ, Except the last, which remains a solitary instance of a custom which experience and usage now considers as inartistic and an embarrassing one to the player (letter from W. Hill & Son, 16 November 1881, RCO Box 6; ii/341).

By 1881 Westminster Abbey was the last major Hill organ to have this very long Great compass. Not only was the Great organ of extra long compass, the Swell and Choir divisions were each of a different compass, and the first proposal of Hill's is that this anomaly should be removed, and a manual compass down to C established throughout:

> I would suggest, therefore, that in any alteration the Abbey Organ should undergo, it is of primary importance that the compass of the manuals should be altered to the uniform CC for all. At present the Great organ runs to CCC, the Choir to GG, and the Swell & Solo to CC, a singular instance of lack of uniformity, the evils of

> which, considering the demands made upon the organist of the present day, can hardly be estimated.

Hill admits the difficulty of hearing both the organ and singers in balance during the choral service, which he attributes to the obstruction caused by the Choir organ on the centre of the screen, causing a visual and audio screen between the organist and the choir:

> I should propose that this latter be removed westward and the manuals take its place, so that by sitting close to the openings in the screen he could both see and hear through its interstices.

The visual and aural separation of the organist and the choir was unsatisfactory as a musical arrangement. It had been tolerated for many years. Although this was a solution to a practical problem did it also reflect the authoritarian structure of Victorian society? The organist exercised considerable power and control from a point of splendid isolation. The choir had to follow him, but if it did not the organist would be able to carry on ignorant of this. The organist's desire for greater contact with the choir could then be interpreted as democratisation of his role. He was still exercising the same power, but not from the same position of isolation.

The tone of the organ is the next area addressed by Hill. He stated that by general agreement the organ was said to be well suited to the Abbey, and that he proposed to make little alteration here. He thought it was important to preserve any pre-Hill pipework in the organ, although he never made explicit where this pipework was. The proposed additions show concessions to nineteenth-century trends and are the addition of a third Open Diapason to the Great, taking the 16' Trumpet down to the bottom of the manual compass, adding some further reed stops and recasting the mixtures. The addition of reed stops would provide more solo voices, and recasting the mixtures enabled him to remove the unfashionable Cornet and Sesquialtera from the Great.

Finally Hill proposed a new mechanism with 'all modern improvements tending to serve the convenience of the player'. This included tubular pneumatic action to the pedals, though at this stage nothing is said about pneumatic action to the manuals. The winding system is to have a larger capacity, with separate reservoirs placed near to the Great and Pedal

organs. New couplers were not mentioned here, nor in the specification that followed. Although couplers were a great concern of organists of the day, Hill did not find it necessary to detail them in his proposals.

Respect for the old pipes in the organ was an important consideration for Hill, who felt that his competitors would use too much new pipework and not preserve older material. He proposed only a small amount of new pipework, a third Open Diapason and Gamba to the Great organ, a new Vox Angelica in the Solo, and in the Pedal organ new pipework for the Bourdon, Violoncello 8' and Trombone 16'. New pipework was needed for the major expansion of the Pedal organ, although Hill used pipes from the bottom octave of the previous Great and Pedal organs as far as possible. The new ranks are concessions to nineteenth-century taste and developments, new solo voices and an addition of further eight-foot tone on the Great organ. These changes, along with the recasting of the mixtures, are all the tonal changes found necessary by Hill to bring this 1848 instrument into line with modern requirements. This proposed rearrangement of the organ was also significantly cheaper than the previous schemes. The estimated price was £1,000 instead of £1,850 for Lewis's cheapest scheme and £3,000 for Willis; by comparison with other new cathedral organs at that time this was a modest instrument.

The Hill Rebuild, 1884 - Pneumatic Action

The organ was completely rebuilt by Hill in 1884 with tubular pneumatic action throughout, the Great on the north side with the Solo above it and the Swell on the south with most of the Pedal below it. The Pedal 32' Double Open Diapason remained in its horizontal position along the top of the screen and the Choir continued to occupy its position in the centre, both unseen from the nave (Freeman 1923a: 141). The wind was supplied by a gas engine to eight reservoirs:

> There are eight reservoirs in immediate connection with the soundboards, receiving wind at various pressures from the main bellows, situated in a vault in the cloisters, and driven by a gas engine. The air from these bellows in conveyed into the Abbey by three iron pipes, passing under ground, and extending to a distance of about sixty feet (Box 1884: 95).

An account in *The Times* shows the high regard shown for this organ both for its old pipework and new 'scientific appliances', pneumatic action and an improved layout:

> The celebrated instrument which many have doubtless observed to have been missing during the past year from its old site on the screen, is now being replaced in the Abbey, after complete reconstruction and enlargement at the hands of Messers Hill and Son, who were the original builders of the greater portion of the organ, and have had charge of it since the beginning of this century.
>
> Although all the old pipes of any value have been retained, the organ must now be regarded as a new one in every other respect, possessing all the latest scientific appliances, and a collection of stops surpassed in completeness by few other English instruments.
>
> The old site, at the two extremities of the screen, is again used, but the two main structures are almost twice their original height, rising to near the crowns of the two arches. This is a great improvement architecturally and acoustically.
>
> The organist will sit at a detached console in the centre of the screen, the great and solo organs being north of him, the swell behind him and the choir occupying also a separate place on the screen although practically hidden from sight. The pedal organ will be situated partly inside the screen and partly underneath the great and swell organs.
>
> The entire communication between the player and the various organs as regards manuals, pedals and draw-stops is by means of tubular pneumatic action.
>
> The great organ contains 13 stops, the choir 11, the swell 14, the solo 8 and the pedal 10, while there are 20 additional mechanical movements. These stops include 10 of 16ft pitch and two of 32 ft pitch the last named being the double diapason and the somewhat rare contra posaune of metal, on the pedal.
>
> Four different pressures of wind are employed for the stops, and the whole of the blowing apparatus, consisting of feeders acted upon by a gas-engine is placed in a specially constructed vault in the Cloister-green, from whence the wind is conveyed by three iron pipes, under ground, to the reservoirs in the organ itself (*The Times*, 20 December 1883, p. 10 col. f).

Details of this organ are available. The Hill Shop Book 1884 and the 1881 and the published specification all agree (ii/481). The compass of the organ is now C to a^3, one note more than Hill's standard of C to g^3 established during the 1860s (Thistlethwaite 1990: 406). The pedal compass from C to f^1 was reserved by Hill for instruments with some degree of independence in the Pedal chorus (Thistlethwaite 1990: 406), and its use here is in agreement with the independent nature of the new Pedal department. Some of the additional stops were paid for by private subscription and include:

Mr Hoaldsworth for Dul[ciana]; Ch[oir]	35
Evening Choir for new ob[o]e Sw[ell]	20
Dr. Bridge towards 32ft reed	50
Capt Blyth Bassoon Bass	10

(Hill Vol. Est. 3 p. 311; ii/464)

Dr. Bridge was the largest single donor, for the 32' reed.

A rare insight into Bridge's approach to organ design survives in a letter he wrote to the organist of Frome Methodist Church after he had played the opening recital on its recently rebuilt and enlarged instrument. Asked if the four-manual instrument was too large for the church he said that the multiplicity of stops was for the sake of variety, and that all were not required to be used at once (*Somerset Standard*, 8 June 1889). Bridge particularly praised the Pedal Violoncello, and encouraged the addition of pneumatics to the Great organ. This is consistent with the approach he took to the Abbey organ, and confirms the understanding that the multiplicity of stops there was for the sake of variety.

A detailed report of the opening of the organ appeared in *The Times*. After repeating the already cited account it described its effect in the Abbey and listed the programme of the opening service and recital:

> The famous organ of Westminster Abbey, which has been in the course of enlargement and reconstruction for the past year, was used for the first time on Saturday afternoon at a full choral service held specially for its inauguration. The organ, it will be remembered, was originally built by Schreider and Jordan in 1730. Many additions and improvements were made in the course of the years, the last of which just completed by Messers Hill and Son, has been so completely successful that the organ in its present condition may without exaggeration be called one of the finest instruments in existence.
>
> .... The full power of the instrument is of the grandest effect, and anything more suave and mellow cannot be imagined than the stops of the solo organ, comprising gamba, three varieties of flute, oboe, clarinet and *vox humana*....
>
> The musical celebration on Saturday afternoon was of more than common interest, the choral portions being almost entirely made up from the works of Abbey organists, beginning chronologically speaking with the great Henry Purcell, whose anthem , "O sing unto the Lord", was the most important feature of the service, and winding up with a tuneful Magnificat in G, by Dr. J. F. Bridge, the present organist. That excellent artist was intent upon showing the new instrument in the most favourable light. The accompaniments to the choruses and responses were marked by discretion, and each of the voluntaries was made interesting by that feeling for tone-colour in all its varieties which enables a skilful organist to reproduce the most delicate and most powerful effects of an entire orchestra. As the concluding voluntary Dr. Bridge had chosen Bach's Toccata in F, which was played in admirable style, the intricate contrapuntal tracery of the great masters' design standing forth with graphic distinctness. An interesting selection of organ music played after the service comprised specimens of all styles, from an "Ave Maria", attributed to Arcadelt, the Netherlandish master of the 16th century, down to a fantasia by M. Silas. We should add that the Abbey choir acquitted itself in a very creditable manner, the soprani and counter-tenors being of special excellence. The amount of tone produced under skilful management by the last named artificial quality of voice which survives in English cathedral choirs is truly remarkable (*The Times*, 26 May 1884, p. 6 col. c).

Once again many column inches were given to the Westminster Abbey and its organ. The attitude to history in the comment about the gas engines is illuminating. Historic associations with the Abbey are brought out by the reporter. The sound of the organ is praised for being 'suave and mellow' - terms that might not have sprung to mind with a Willis organ. A sense of history is apparent in the account of the opening 'musical celebration': the organ dating back to 1730 and music written by Purcell. Bridge's playing was praised for imitating orchestral variety and a wide dynamic range, in the way his predecessor Turle was. The choice of the Bach toccata shows the importance attributed to his music by this date. For a great occasion, when worthy music is required, Bach is chosen. The concluding voluntaries also show a historical self-consciousness, with pieces presented chronologically from the sixteenth century to the present day.

In 1882 Bridge was not pleased with the state of the choir he inherited. He found that the men never rehearsed and only attended when they chose, some being too old and infirm to carry out their duties. He laid part of the blame for this on Dean Stanley (Dean 1864-1881), whom, he said 'presided over poor music at the Abbey', with the implication that he was unconcerned with this state of affairs (Bridge 1918: 72). By 1885 the men had been made to rehearse and were paid for attending (WAMS 31,653; ii/359). John Stainer had instituted similar reforms at St. Paul's Cathedral when he was appointed organist in 1872 (Temperley 1981: 174). At both institutions these reforms only came in the final quarter of the century.

The anthem repertoire this organ was regularly used for is recorded in the service sheets, which are preserved from 1892 onwards. They show a similar range as those for 1873, with composers spread across four centuries represented. Most are English, and the tradition of performing early music was continued by Bridge with Byrd, Bull, Dowland, Farrant, Gibbons, Greene, Palestrina, Purcell, Tallis and Tye being performed. In music lists for 17 weeks between 25 September 1872 to 30 July 1893, 88 composers, 230 anthems and 250 service settings were performed. An index of the choir music library at the Abbey in 1905 lists 954 anthems by 180 composers, and 376 service settings by 147 composers (see Appendix 5.4; ii/492). The composers with the greatest number of anthems

and services in this index remain the eighteenth-century G. F. Handel (60), Maurice Greene (57), William Boyce (48), William Croft (46), James Nares (25) and James Kent (21). The Restoration period is represented by Henry Purcell (34), John Blow (34), Henry Aldrich (20) and William Child (20). The composer with the greatest number of pre-Commonwealth anthems and services was Orlando Gibbons (32). Nineteenth-century composers dominate the list but only three have a large number of pieces included: Frederick Ouseley (40), Felix Mendelssohn (34) and John Goss (30). This index shows how firmly the canon of musical classics was established by the start of the twentieth century.

Hill 'Improvements' - 1894

Hill worked on the organ again in 1894. The work was more far-reaching than previous rebuilds and widened the resources of the instrument. This is understandable as Bridge, who was by now well-established as organist, was more interested than his predecessor Turle in playing organ voluntaries and using the organ in recitals. Hill and Son effected many additions and alterations, described as 'improvements', to the organ. This work is recorded in Hill Vol. Shop 4 p 53A, 1894, [job no] 2154 Westminster Abbey (ii/467). The Swell organ had the most attention, with a new soundboard provided allowing for a higher pressure of wind for the reeds, a new tenor c octave, and new Open Diapason 8', Rohr Flute 8' and Gedackt 4'. There were four new thumb pistons provided for the Choir organ, and adjustments to the position of the pedalboard and the speed of response of the Solo thumb pistons. The wider resources of this instrument would surely have been used to the full by Bridge, as is shown in this eye-witness account:

> Bridge was an exemplification of the most brilliant ideas of late nineteenth-century organists which tended to over-clothe accompaniments with marvellous organ effects, and to place the human element in somewhat secondary place (Wilton-Hall, Lwa Pamphlet 43, p. 34).

The use of phrases 'over-clothe' and 'organ effects' suggest that the demands of the written music were not the only consideration put into organ design by Bridge. What is meant by the 'human element' is less clear; did it simply mean the singers or did it mean intellect or just that Bridge's playing lifted his hearers above the mundane? The desire for effect was

demonstrated in 1895 when Hill & Son added a Celestial organ, the gift of Mr. A. D. Clark. It is described thus by Freeman:

> This new feature consists of a separate department, placed in the triforium of the south transept almost directly above the tomb of Handel, and electrically controlled from the fifth manual (then added to the console) or from the fourth, or partly from the one and partly from the other. All its stops - twenty seven in number - are actuated by stop-keys placed above the left jamb of the console. All its pipes are enclosed in a swell box (Freeman 1923a: 142).

This work appears as job no. 1842 on p. 61 of Hill Vol. Shop 4 (ii/467), where the new division is called the 'Electric Echo organ' on account of the use of an electrical connection between the keys and the soundboards of this division. The specification of the two-manual division appears as Specification 5 (ii/483). This organ consisted entirely of quiet flue and reed stops, predominantly at 8' pitch, divided as Accompanimental and Solo stops and with 36 brass gongs, struck by electro-pneumatic hammers. The distant location of this organ in the triforium of the south transept would have leant an ethereal quality to its sound, the ultimate expression in organ building of nineteenth-century worship joining with the music of the angels. This idea was prevalent in the nineteenth century (Adelmann 1997: 158), and was expressed also in the heavenly choirs that were a feature of various nineteenth-century operas, sometimes positioned at the top of the theatre.

In 1908 Hill cleaned the organ and increased the number of playing aids and accessories, added more thumb pistons and pedals to change the registration, and enhanced the tonal effect of the organ by repositioning the Solo division, and the Tuba in particular, for maximum effect (Hill Vol. Shop 5, [job no] 1842 Westminster Abbey March 27 1908; ii/468). The tonal alterations were a further 16' Pedal stop derived from the 32', a new very large Open Diapason 8' to the Great on 5 inches of wind and a new console.

What happened from 1831 to 1908 to transform the organ and why?

Between 1831 and 1908 the organ increased in size from 22 to 77 speaking stops. This growth was through the addition of new divisions to the organ and many more stops to the Swell and Choir divisions. The independent Pedal organ was effectively new in 1884, and the Celestial organ in 1908. The following is a table of the size of each division for the instrument at the beginning of this period and after each rebuild.

Year	**1842**	**1848**	**1884**	**1908**
No. Of Stops/ Division				
Great	12	14	13	14
Swell	4	10	14	17
Choir	5	6	11	11
Solo			8	8
Celestial				16
Pedal	1	2	10	11
Total (Speaking)	22	32	56	77
Couplers	1	5	9	22
Tremulants			2	3

In 1842 there were three separate mixture stops (Sesquialtera, Mixture, Cornet) but only one in 1908. The new stops added were all at 16 or 8' pitch and included a Double Trumpet and Double Open Diapason. The Swell organ grew dramatically in the 1848 rebuild when it came into prominence as the secondary manual to the Great. The Trumpet and Oboe were joined by a Contra Fagotto and Clarion, and reeds at 16, 8, 8, and 4' pitches remained in this division from then on. Quiet string stops and a Dulciana were also placed here during the century. The Choir organ was the same in the 1884 and 1908 organs with slight changes of nomenclature. In 1831 it was the secondary division to the Great, including 8, 4, and 2' diapasons. It lost this role in 1848. In 1884 the Pedal division remained in the organ gallery but grew dramatically when it had its own independent chorus structure.

The new stops reflect the increased interest in using the organ as a solo instrument. The sound-world of the nineteenth century, with new orchestral timbres, gave more instruments

to imitate. The Solo organ had the greatest concentration of orchestral stops, and the Celestial organ had some more esoteric voices that seem to have more to do with effect than direct musical use (Cor de Nuit, Musette, Dulciana Cornet VI). These developments were made possible by changes in technology during the century. The Celestial organ, remotely placed at the far end of the south triforium, had an electro pneumatic action, allowing a connection to the console by means of an electical cable. The application of pneumatic action made practical the use of high pressure reed stops which would otherwise have made the action too heavy.

The proliferation of couplers shows a change in the use of the organ. The 1831 organ had one coupler between the Great and the Pedals. Each manual had a purpose, the Great was the main division, Choir the accompaniment to this, and the Swell an echo to the Great with a limited solo role. The increased provision of couplers between the manuals and the manuals and pedals blurs the distinction between divisions. The registration of a solo and accompaniment is made easier by this, making it more straightforward to reinforce a solo line by doubling at various pitches. The use of octave couplers enhances this facility by making octave doubling possible while playing only one note. Mechanical developments made thumb pistons to change registration a reality, and the small space needed for them at the console made their generous provision more straightforward. However, although these were available in 1884, they were not used at the Abbey until 1908.

The 1908 organ was greatly changed from the 1831 instrument. Stage by stage each change seems less dramatic. In 1848 the dominance of the Swell and Great divisions as the primary and secondary choruses was established, and this was consolidated in the 1884 rebuild. The growth in solo voices was the more dramatic change. This increased the number of stops outside the classical chorus structure of the organ, allowing an interest in wide-ranging tonal variety to dominate the design of the instrument.

Whatever the music performed in the Abbey in the nineteenth century sounded like, the combination of the music and architecture was not without effect, as this poem by the

Revd. William Bowles 'Written after hearing the Choral Music and Coronation Anthem in Westminster Abbey' on 24 June 1834 shows:

> It is full fifty years since I heard last,
> HANDEL, thy solemn and divinest strain,
> Roll through the long nave of the pillar'd Fane,
> ....
> Ah! not unmindful that I now am grey,
> And my race almost run,-in this same Fane,
> I hear those Hallelujahs peal again,
> Peal and expire, and while upon my ear,
> The mighty voice swells, jubilant and clear,
> I muse amid the holy harmony,
> On thoughts of other worlds, and songs which never die.
>
> W. L. BOWLES.

(*The Times*, 26 June 1834, p. 5 col. d, reprinted Bowles 1836: 10)

Conclusions

In 1828 Westminster Abbey had an organ which in tonal design and action was firmly established in its eighteenth-century origins. As a central architectural feature of the Abbey church it was clothed in a gothic case as part of Blore's transformation of the interior of the church. This centrally placed case was not a success, and in 1848 the organ was rebuilt by Hill on either side of the screen. This organ retained mechanical action and an essentially conservative tonal scheme. It retained this condition until the rebuild under the direction of Bridge in 1884, when it gained pneumatic action and an enlarged stop list. The instrument was subsequently further enlarged enhancing the resources, especially by increasing the number of timbres available and effects possible. The addition of the Celestial organ in a remote corner of the triforium was the most obviously effect-oriented tonal addition to the organ, and the increase in the number of playing aids made control of these resources easier.

The organ became larger and more powerful, and reflects trends elsewhere in an increasingly industrialised society, where new forms of power and its control made the manufacture and operation of larger machines a reality. The increase in size also reflected the increase in size and power of the orchestra during the century.

The organ was used to accompany the choir in psalms, anthems and services throughout this century, and from the 1860s on had a role in leading congregational hymn singing. The instrument's development as a solo instrument was in line with the change of interests of the organists from Turle to Bridge. Bridge was responsible for introducing regular voluntaries on his appointment in 1882, and by the end of the century the public organ recital was another role for the organ.

The standard of the choir improved during the century. Once again the introduction of regular choir practices is linked with the interests of the organist, and Bridge associated himself with a dramatic improvement in standards at the Abbey. The music sung by the choir continued a tradition of preserving works from the pre-Commonwealth era as well as Restoration services and anthems. The proliferation of music and music-publishing was allowed to influence the repertoire of the Abbey, with an increase in the number of composers sung, partly at the expense of some composers more popular in the previous century, notably Handel and Greene. The organ took an orchestral role accompanying these, the organist exploiting a legato style and artistic use of stop changes to speak 'words of prayer or praise' with the choir.

7

Conclusions

This study of the organs of Westminster Abbey demonstrates that looking at the organs in one location is worthwhile, especially for a place where music, the state, organ builders, composers and critics have all had a great deal to say and do, leaving behind them a rich record from which to write a history.

The study is founded on transcriptions of the original documents housed at the Abbey relating to the organ. By looking outside these documents a wider picture is provided, putting the organ into a musical and cultural setting. The trends in British organ building which are commonly observed, such as the provision of one main organ in a central location in large churches, are put into context of the liturgical life of the Abbey community, and are seen as part of that life.

Organ and Liturgy

The 600 years from the building of the Abbey church until the Commonwealth saw a great deal of organ building activity, of which very little information survives. The role of the organ is the determining factor of the location and size of the instrument. At first the organ was probably a noise-making instrument to signal feast days and built in a position which would allow it to be heard outside the Abbey. It took on a more defined musical role in tandem with the development of organ-building technology making greater control of the sound by keys and stops available. When the instrument took a more musical role in the progress of the liturgy it was placed near the centres of the liturgy it accompanied. For the Abbey these included the choir, Jesus chapel and Lady chapel. Before the Reformation it was used in alternation with the singers, and at times replacing parts of the sung text with solo organ music.

The link between the organ and the state is shown in two ways. The first of these, in the sixteenth century, was the effect of the Reformation on the liturgical life of the church. In the mid-sixteenth century the monastic choir was disbanded and the Abbey became a cathedral. It lost cathedral status and was restored to a monastery by Queen Mary and was finally made a collegiate church by Elizabeth I. Post-Reformation, the offering of masses at different locations in the building - the Jesus chapel and Lady chapel and choir - was discontinued with the disestablishment of the monastery, with the choir-centred liturgy of the Protestant Elizabethan prayer book. This made the choir the centre of liturgy, and the location for an organ. After the Reformation a royal injunction ensured that all the text of the service was heard clearly, so the organ no longer had an alternatim role with the choir. Therefore a role playing voluntaries and accompanying the choir while they sang was developed.

We do not know what the pre-Reformation organ was like. We tend to assume that once the organ was a musical, not noise-making, instrument it was fairly small, with one manual and, at some time, some stops. It is possible that a double organ was built during the sixteenth century, before the Commonwealth. This came after a period of stability, when the choir had been the location of the services of the church for over fifty years. Although no direct evidence survives, the organ builder responsible had already built a double organ elsewhere, and other cathedral churches in England were starting to acquire them. At the start of the English civil war Westminster Abbey probably had a fairly new organ, almost certainly with two manuals, and a long established choir which had enjoyed the tenure of notable musicians, especially Orlando Gibbons and Edmund Hooper, as organist and choirmaster.

The Restoration period is one in which details about organs become more prominent in organ histories, and at the Abbey the amount of detail about the instrument is much greater. It is still not possible to know the specification of the organ from any primary sources. By reconciling the manuscript music of the composer-organists, particularly Blow and Croft, some speculative conclusions about the disposition of the organ can be drawn. The organ had at least two, and possibly three manuals, and a compass from GG, AA, C,D,E-C-c^3. BB,

BB^b, $C^\#$ and $D^\#$ were probably added when Shrider rebuilt the organ in 1710 and lowered the pitch by a semitone. Its specification included a Trumpet, Cornet (d^1-c^3), Sesquialtera (up to $c\#^1$ or maybe d^1), and possibly a Cremona.

These results are consistent with what the records and the music reveal about the organ, and, although not remarkable in one sense, they demonstrate the value of using the evidence found in composers' manuscript scores to discover details of the organ, and they represent a significant addition to our knowledge of the Abbey organ from the Restoration until 1727. The amount of information available from the musical and textural sources has combined to give consistent results which are typical of a post-Restoration organ.

The organ was used in morning and evening prayer to play a voluntary after the lesson, and to accompany the canticles and anthem. The repertoire of the choir that survives in the Triforium Music indicates that anthems by Restoration composers were being readily taken into the repertoire, and that any initial emphasis on performing pre-Commonwealth music was lost as new music became available. This is in line with what we expect from the opinions of Charles II, and his preference for a new light and airy style of music.

In 1730 the new Shrider organ was opened. This introduced a musical and architectural change in the Abbey. Architecturally, the instrument had moved from a discreet location at the north of the choir to a central location on the screen over the entrance to the choir. The eighteenth century was the other period when the link between the church and state was especially clear. The 1730 organ was the King's gift and it was given a central place in the church, symbolically uniting Church and State. Musically, the old-fashioned organ, dating back to before the Restoration, was replaced by one in a style which was to hold sway in England for the rest of the century. It was based on a large Great organ, with a smaller Choir organ of the same compass as the Great, and a short compass Swell manual. After it was rebuilt by Jordan in 1736 the Swell had a typical specification of Open Diapason, Stopped Diapason, Trumpet and Oboe.

This is the organ which first saw pedals introduced at Westminster Abbey, although the details of this are not clear. Music composed by Cooke in 1771 implies that he had access to an organ with pedals: he consistently writes for a pedalboard with a compass of GG-e, which, with a unique exception, is congruent with the pedal requirements of the organ parts in the Triforium Music. No primary material about the organ supports or opposes this conclusion.

The eighteenth century saw the choral repertoire at Westminster Abbey expand, gaining pieces by both contemporary, Restoration and Reformation composers, with the greatest emphasis on the earlier and later composers. This expansion was well under way in the time of John Robinson, and is a reflection of the growing interest in ancient music taking place in organisations such as the Academy of Ancient Music which had links with the Abbey through its directors.

In 1828 Westminster Abbey had an organ which in tonal design and action was firmly rooted in its eighteenth-century origins. As a central architectural feature of the Abbey church it was clothed in a gothic case as part of Blore's transformation of the interior of the church. This centrally placed case was not a success, and in 1848 the organ was rebuilt by Hill on either side of the screen. The resulting organ retained mechanical action and an essentially conservative tonal scheme, retaining this condition until the rebuild under the direction of Bridge in 1884. This organ had pneumatic action and an enlarged stop list. It was subsequently further enlarged, thus enhancing the resources, especially by increasing the number of timbres available. The addition of the Celestial organ in a remote corner of the triforium was the most obviously effect-oriented tonal addition to the organ, and the increase in the number of playing aids made control of these resources easier.

The organ became larger and more powerful, and reflects trends elsewhere in an increasingly industrialised society, where new forms of power and its control made the manufacture and operation of larger machines a reality. The less central position taken by the organ on the

screen in the nineteenth century reflects the decrease in significance of the instrument as the orchestra became a more mainstream musical vehicle.

The organ was used to accompany the choir in psalms, anthems and services throughout this century, and from the 1860s on had a role in leading congregational hymn singing. Its role as a solo instrument was developed with the change of interests of the organists from Turle to Bridge. Bridge was responsible for introducing regular voluntaries on his appointment in 1882, and by the end of the century the public organ recital was another role for the organ.

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Church and state meet in Westminster Abbey. The coronation is the epitome of this and other ceremonial services, such as the installation of the Knights of the Bath and state funerals, reinforce this link. The Handel commemorations fit into this pattern of the union of state and religion. How much is the coronation music a mirror of English (if not British) musical life? At the Restoration the coronation music-making was centred around the court and the royal household. By 1838 the net was cast far wider and included musicians from outside the royal household and Westminster Abbey. The scale of the musical forces increased greatly from the choirs of the Chapel Royal and Westminster Abbey in 1661, expanding to 160 singers for

George II and to 292 for Victoria in 1838. The instrumental forces increased in a similar way from 45 for James II to 108 for Victoria. The balance of instrumentalists to vocalists changed from being about half and half to the choir being nearly three times the size of the band for Victoria. The increase in power of orchestral instruments relative to the human voice is evident from this change in proportions. The repertoire was almost exclusively by English composers, reflecting the major figures in London (Purcell, Blow, Handel and Boyce). In the nineteenth century the composers included Attwood, Smart and Knyvett who are less well regarded then their predecessors. There was an idea of historical awareness and tradition to the coronation repertoire throughout this period and Handel's important place in this is evident.

The pattern of daily services established at Westminster at the Reformation continued with little alteration until the close of the nineteenth century. The tradition has continued throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century. The role of the organ accompanying the choir continues unchanged. Despite its rebuilding and enlargement in the twentieth century the organ is still essentially there for the choir and the liturgy, with concert use a secondary role. The musical traditions of Westminster Abbey are firmly rooted in the past, and the secure position of the choral service accompanied by the organ are a legacy that has been nurtured over the centuries.

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Part 2

Appendices

Appendix 1

Benjamin Cooke:

Organ Voluntaries

Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in G major

Table of Contents

Editorial Note

Benjamin Cooke. A Set of Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsichord

Sources

1. Autograph Manuscript

Lcm MS 810, ff.1-10, composer's autograph, bound in board with 'Dr. B. Cooke's Collection Vol. IV' on the spine. f.11v., Canon 2 in one, is not part of the Set of Voluntaries but is included here as it is rich in registration and manual changing indications. Lcm MS 817, ff.54r.55r., composers autograph, bound in board with 'Dr Cooke's Collection, vol. 10' on the spine, contains the fugue in C major that is included below since Benjamin Cooke's son, Robert Cooke, included it in a posthumous publication of his father's organ works.

Although titled for organ or harpsichord the voluntaries contain registration and manual changing indications which can only be realised on the organ, and have many long held notes which would not be effective on the harpsichord.

2. Other Manuscript

There is a manuscript edition of some of these voluntaries at Cul Add. 9133. This manuscript is in the hand of Charles L Cudworth (1908-77), sometime Curator of the Pendelbury Music Library (Hogwood & Luckett 1983: ix). It contains:

Title	Lcm MS 810	Cul Add. MS 9133
Slow - Diapasons	f.2c.	p. 1
Slow - Trumpet	f.2c.	p. 1
Allegro e Staccato*	f.1v.-2r.	p. 4-5
Andante*	f.2r.	p. 6
Minuet Allegro	f.2v.	p. 6-7
Lively March	f.2v.	p. 8

The pieces marked * which appear in Cul Add. MS 9133 could have been copied from the published edition of Cooke's voluntaries, the ones with no * were copied from either Cooke's manuscript or another source that is now lost. They were not used in the preparation of the following edition.

3. Published Editions

A selection of Benjamin Cooke's voluntaries derived from Lcm MS 810 and the fugue in C major from Lcm MS 817 were published posthumously by the composer's son, Robert Cooke, c.1819. They appeared in two volumes. The first of these was re-set and published by Cathedral Edition in 1995 as *Benjamin Cooke, Fugues and other pieces for the organ.* A three-stave edition of the Overture to Adam and Eve and the C minor fugue was edited by John West, who arranged the music for a C compass organ with 2 manuals and pedal (Cooke, nd). These were not used in the preparation of this edition.

The pieces to appear in Robert Cooke's edition are:

Lcm MS 810 folio	Title	Edition
1r.	Adagio [C minor]	Book 2 pp. 2-3
1v.-2r.	Allegro e Staccato	Book 2 p. 4-5
2r.	Andante	Book 2 p. 6
4r.	Fugue for the Organ [C minor]	Book 1 pp. 2-5
5r.	Allegro [Cornet Voluntary]	Book 1 pp. 6-7

8r.	Fugue in Bb	Book 2 pp. 10-12
10r.	Fugue in A	Book 2 pp. 13-16

Lcm MS 817

54r.-55r.	Fugue in C Major	Book 2 pp. 6-9

The Canon 2 in One was published as an organ duet by Robin Langley in volume 7 of *English Organ Music*. The music adapts readily to this layout although there is no direct evidence in the manuscript for this arrangement. It has not been followed in this edition.

Editorial Procedure

This diplomatic edition follows the layout of Lcm MS 810 as far as possible. On repeated acquaintance this appears clear and free from ambiguities. The apparent uncertainties in the manuscript are identified in the notes below, and any notation supplied is enclosed in brackets in the score.

Titles. Titles follow the manuscript. Also included are the tempo and registration indications, comments such as 'first' etc. which may indicate a way of combining these movements into voluntaries. In the notes which follow the movements have been assigned numbers following the manuscript order for ease of reference.

Clefs. The clefs have been modernised. The original uses f4 and g2 clefs along with c3 and c4.

Redundant Accidentals. These have been omitted.

Note Stems. The direction of the note stems is occasionally altered for clarity. The original notation does not imply a strict number of parts.

Beaming and Bar Lines. These are as in the manuscript.

All other variations from the text are listed below:

Numbering Schemes

Various numbering schemes appear to have been applied to the separate movements in the manuscript. The original order of the voluntaries is suggested by numbering on some pieces (1st, 2nd etc.), by the title 'Voluntary for the organ' above no. 12, and by the autographs and dates that occur on folios 2v, 3v, 5r, 7r, and 7v. Various other instructions for ordering the pieces were written by Cooke (e.g. f.7r. 'this and the next movement must follow the Cornet Piece'). Combining this information gives 4 voluntaries, 1 prelude and fugue, 3 fugues, a slow movement - possibly part of an unfinished voluntary - and a canon as shown below:

	Number	Title	Key
Voluntary	1	Adagio	C minor
[C minor]	2	Allegro e Staccato	C minor
	3	Andante	C major
	4	Minuet Allegro	C minor
	5	Lively March	C major
Voluntary	7	Slow - Trumpet	Eb major
	8	ad libitum - Sprightly, not too quick	Eb major
	9	March	Eb major
Voluntary	11	Allegro [Cornet Voluntary]	C major
	14	Siciliana	C major
	15	Rondo	G major

Voluntary	12	Voluntary for the Organ, Slow	Eb major
	13	Trumpet Stop, not too fast	Eb major
Prelude and Fugue	20	Overture to Adam and Eve	C minor
	10	Fugue for the Organ	C minor
	16	Fugue	Bb major
	17	Fugue	A major
	6	Slow - Diapasons	C minor

Foliation

Two independent systems of numbering the manuscript have been used. There is a series of folio numbers, and a series of page numbers. When the foliation was added one leaf was omitted. The folio numbers have been followed, with the two sides of the unnumbered folio after f.2v now numbered 2c and 2d.

Notes on Pieces

The system Bar-number, Beat, Part is used to identify points in the score. The abbreviation rh is used for Right Hand (top line) and lh for Left Hand.

1. f.1r Adagio

bar 5, Following bar 5 there is a bar crossed out and illegible. It is not included in the transcription, or in the total number of bars.

bar 43, rh, alto is a quaver short in manuscript, f is changed from quaver to crochet.

bars 44-46, lh, tenor stems reversed.

bar 46, lh, 3, natural supplied.

2. f.1v Allegro e Staccato

bar 12, rh, treble clef is not in manuscript but required to make harmonic sense.
bar 37, rh, rest supplied.

3. f.2r Andante

bar 2, 21, lh, g clef replaces c clef which may have indicated use of the swell organ.

4. f.2v Minuet Allegro

5. f.2v Lively March

bar 8, repeat is presumably to bar 1, making the first quaver with a crochet the second time.

6. f.2c Slow - Diapasons

bar 24, rh, 3, possible 4th note (c) to this chord, unclear in manuscript.

7. f.2c Slow - Trumpet

Numbered out of sequence, introductory passage to the following movement, f.2d.

8. f.2d ad libitum - Sprightly, not too quick

bar 2, lh, 3, crochet rest supplied.

9. f.3v March

10. f.4r Fugue for the Organ [C minor]

The has the instruction 'Before this fugue insert the first movement from the Overture of Adam and Eve Transposed'.

This movement appears in Robert Cooke's edition of the fugue, and is given on p. 241 below, from the published version.

11. f.5r Allegro [Cornet Voluntary]

bar 11 is written once in the score with 'twice' indicated. Here it is written out in full.

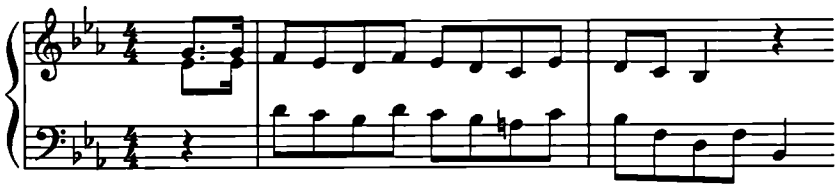
bars 64-67 are an insertion clearly indicated in the manuscript.

12. f.6r Voluntary for the Organ, Slow

bar 20, 4, g natural supplied in both parts.

13. f.6v Trumpet Stop, not too fast

bar 12, 3, 2 bars indicated as deletion, Example 1.



Ex. 1, f.6.v. bar 12, deleted passage

14. f.7r Siciliana

15. f.7v Rondeau

32 This bar is ambiguous in the manuscript. There is a further double bar line dividing the first rh quaver from the descending run. It may be intended to show that the run is played only the second time.

16. f.8r Fugue in Bb

16, rh, 4, B flat supplied.
18, rh, 1, A flat supplied.
57, rh, lh, 3 E natural supplied.
58, rh, 1, E natural supplied.

17. f. 10r Fugue in A

18. f.11v Canon 2 in one

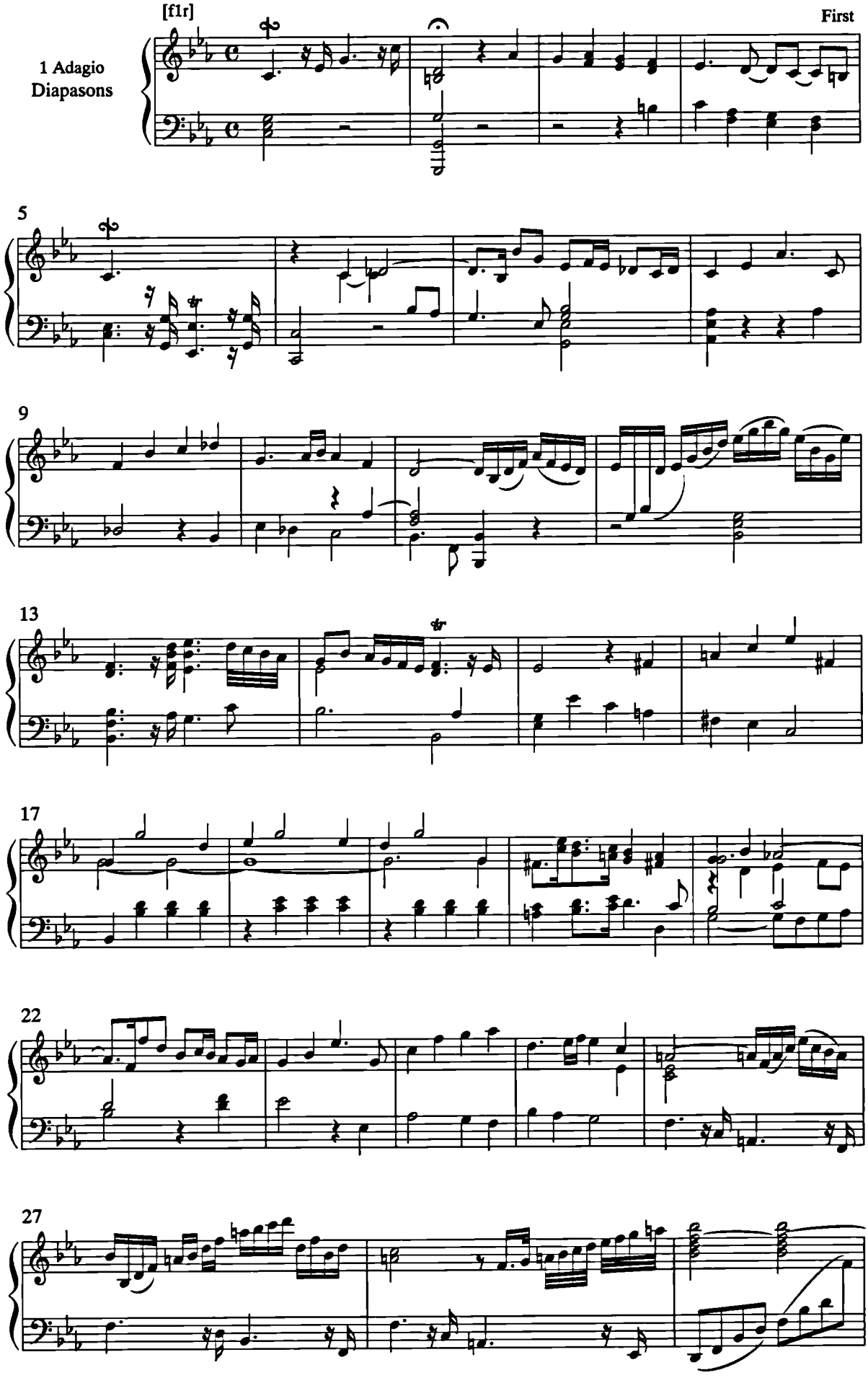
18, lh, ties supplied to imitate bar 17 rh.
44, lh, G is A in score.

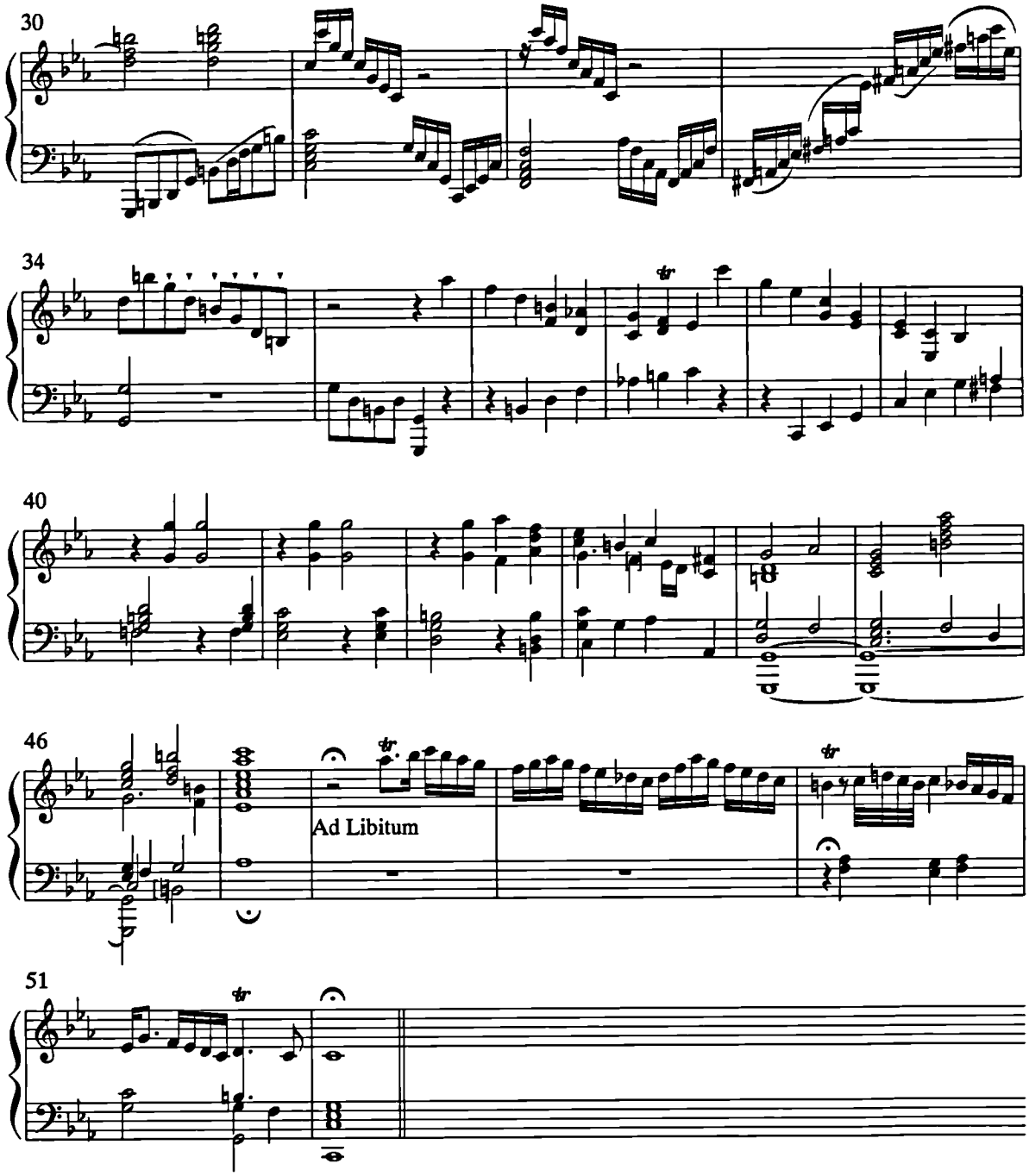
19. **Lcm MS 817, f. 54r-55r Fugue in C Major.**

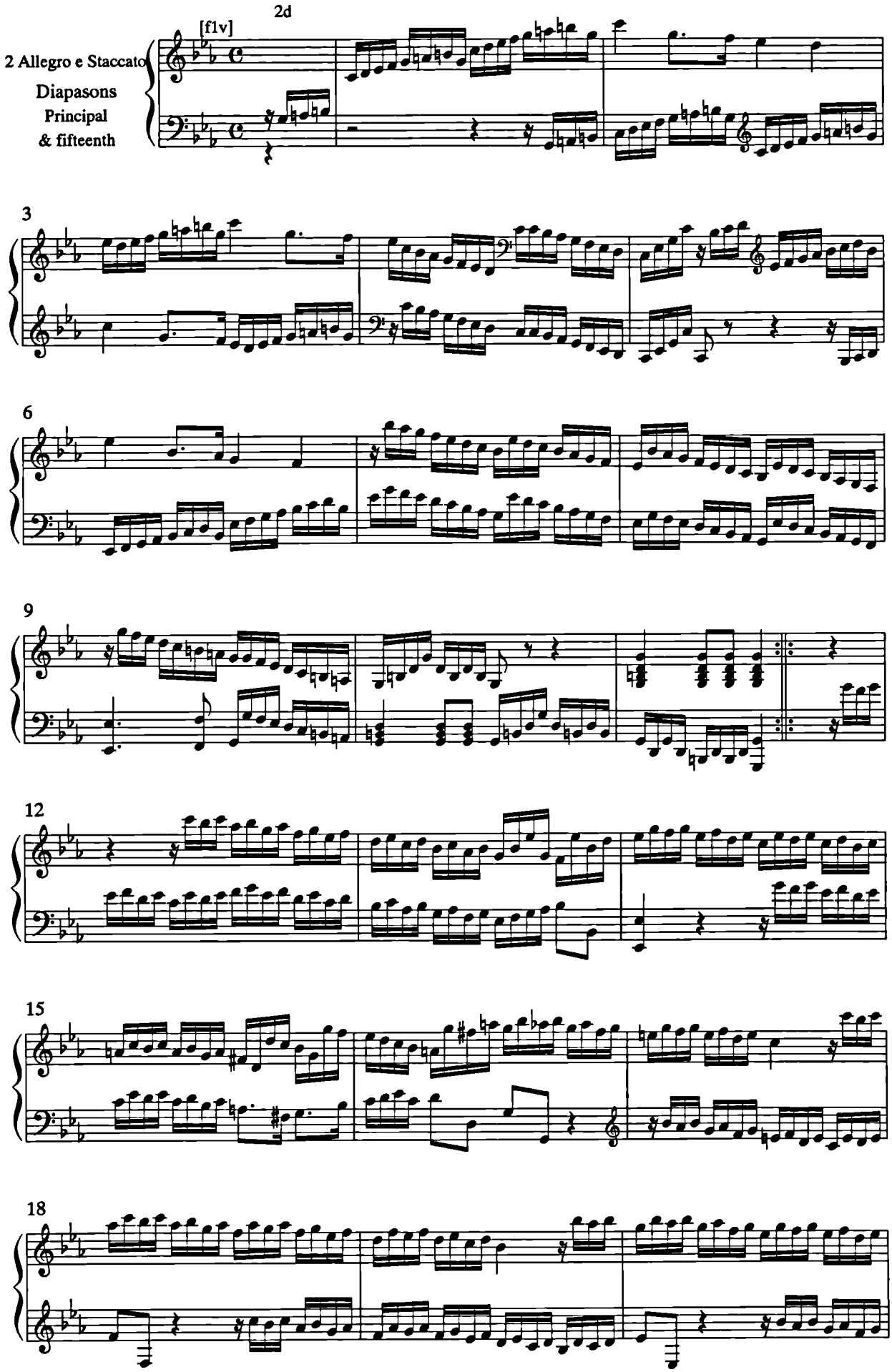
The above notes on editorial procedure all apply to this fugue.

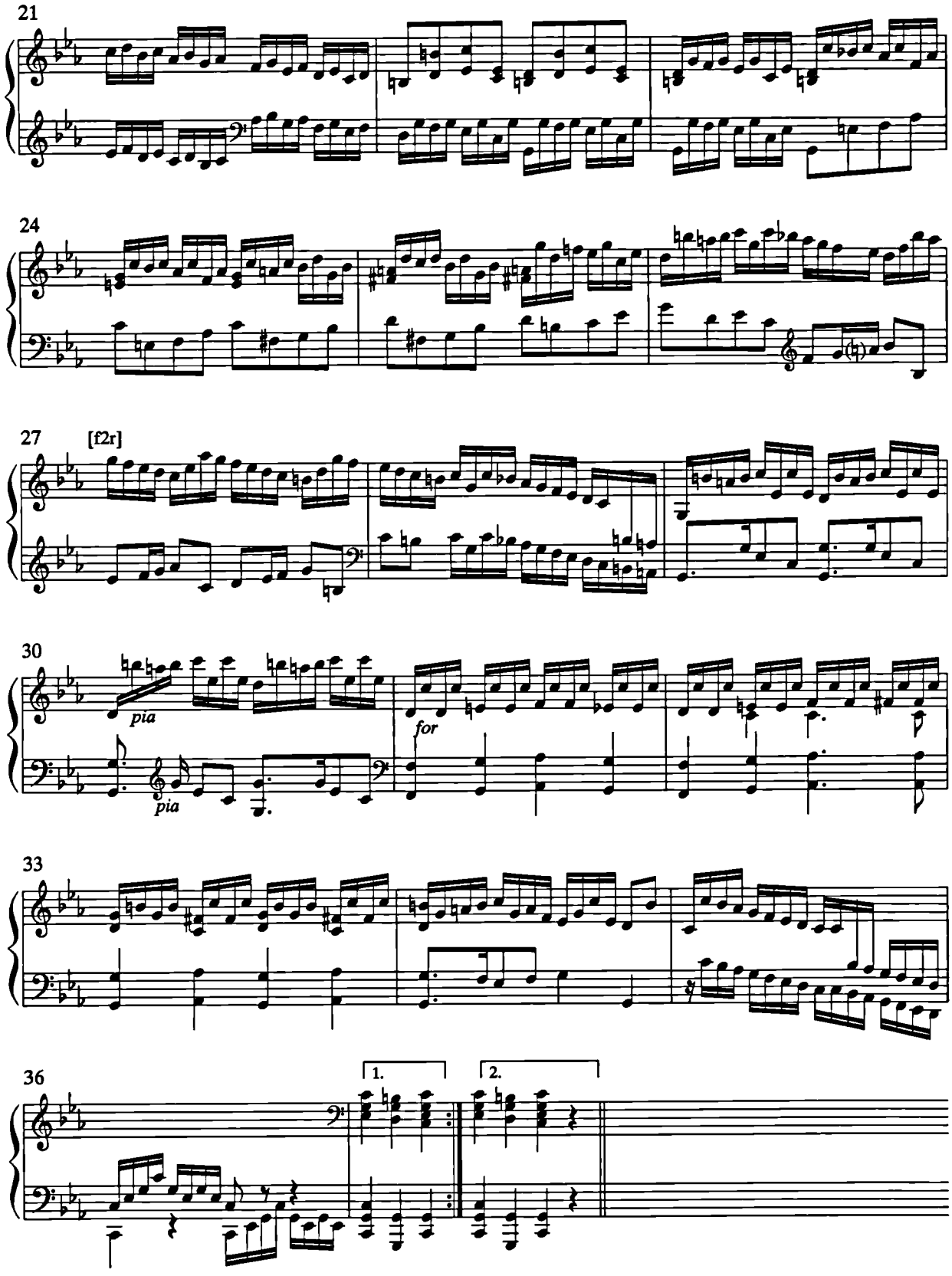
It is published in Book 2 of Robert Cooke's edition of the Voluntaries.

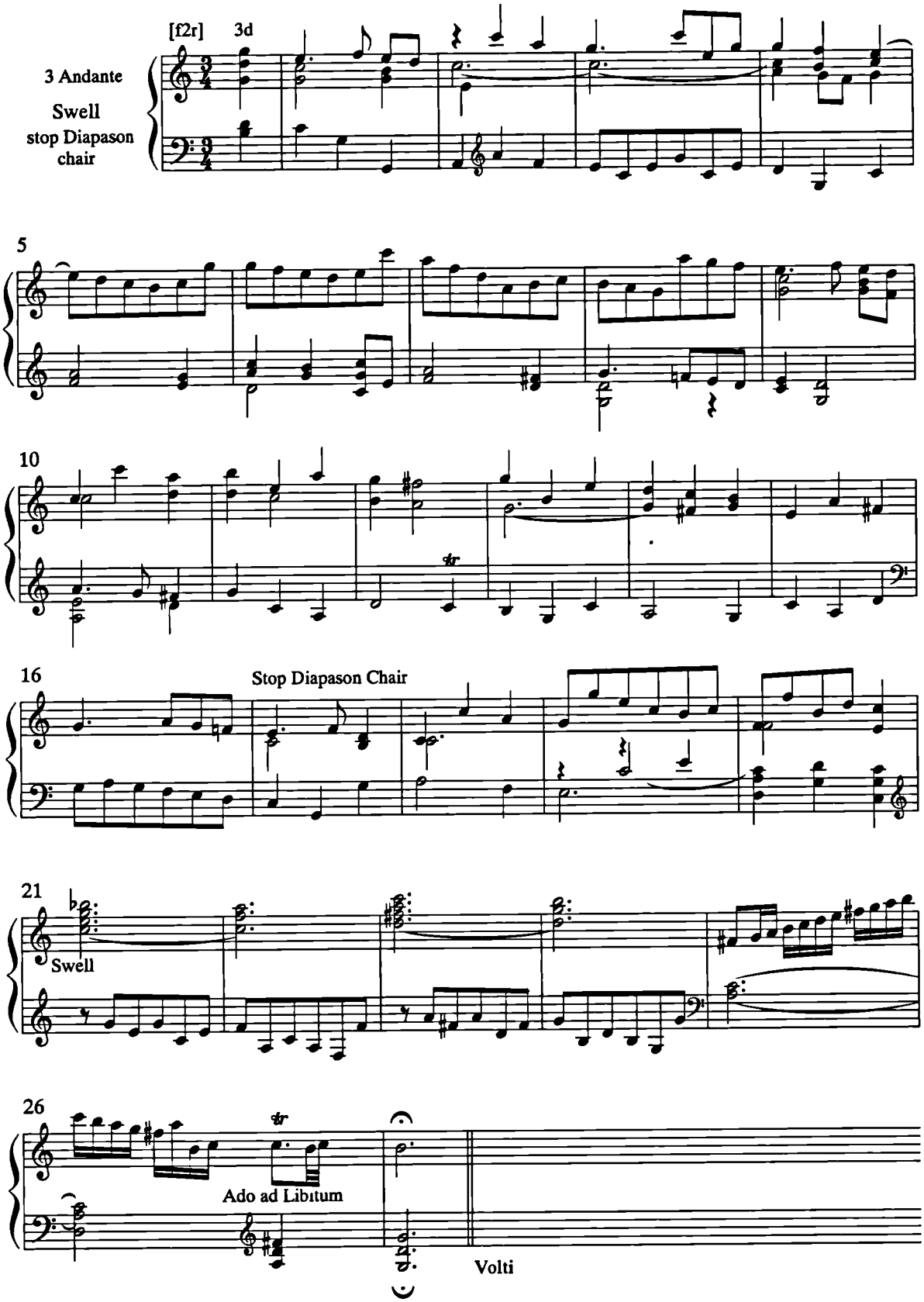
20. **Overture to Adam and Eve,** from the Robert Cooke edition, to precede the Fugue in C minor (p. 217).


[f1r]
First
1 Adagio
Diapasons
5
9
13
17
22
27


30
34
40
46
Ad Libitum
51

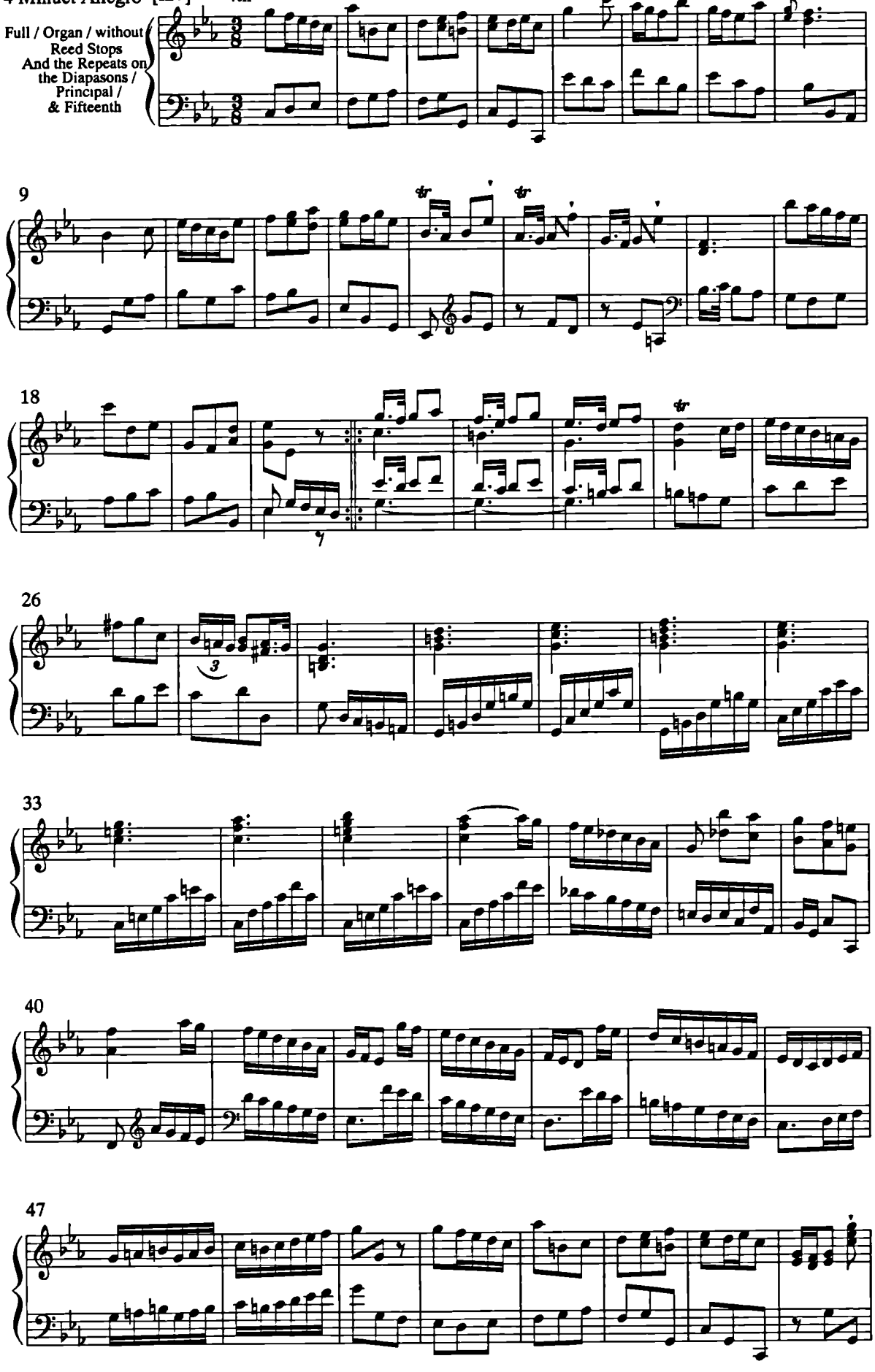

2d
[f1v]
2 Allegro e Staccato
Diapasons
Principal
& fifteenth
3
6
9
12
15
18

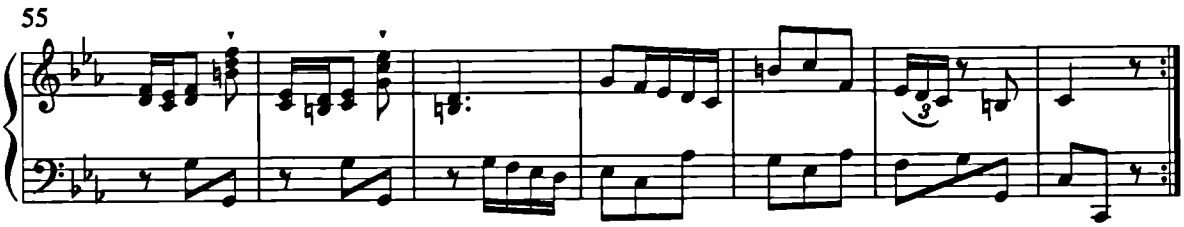

21
24
27
[f2r]
30
pia
pia
for
33
36
1.
2.

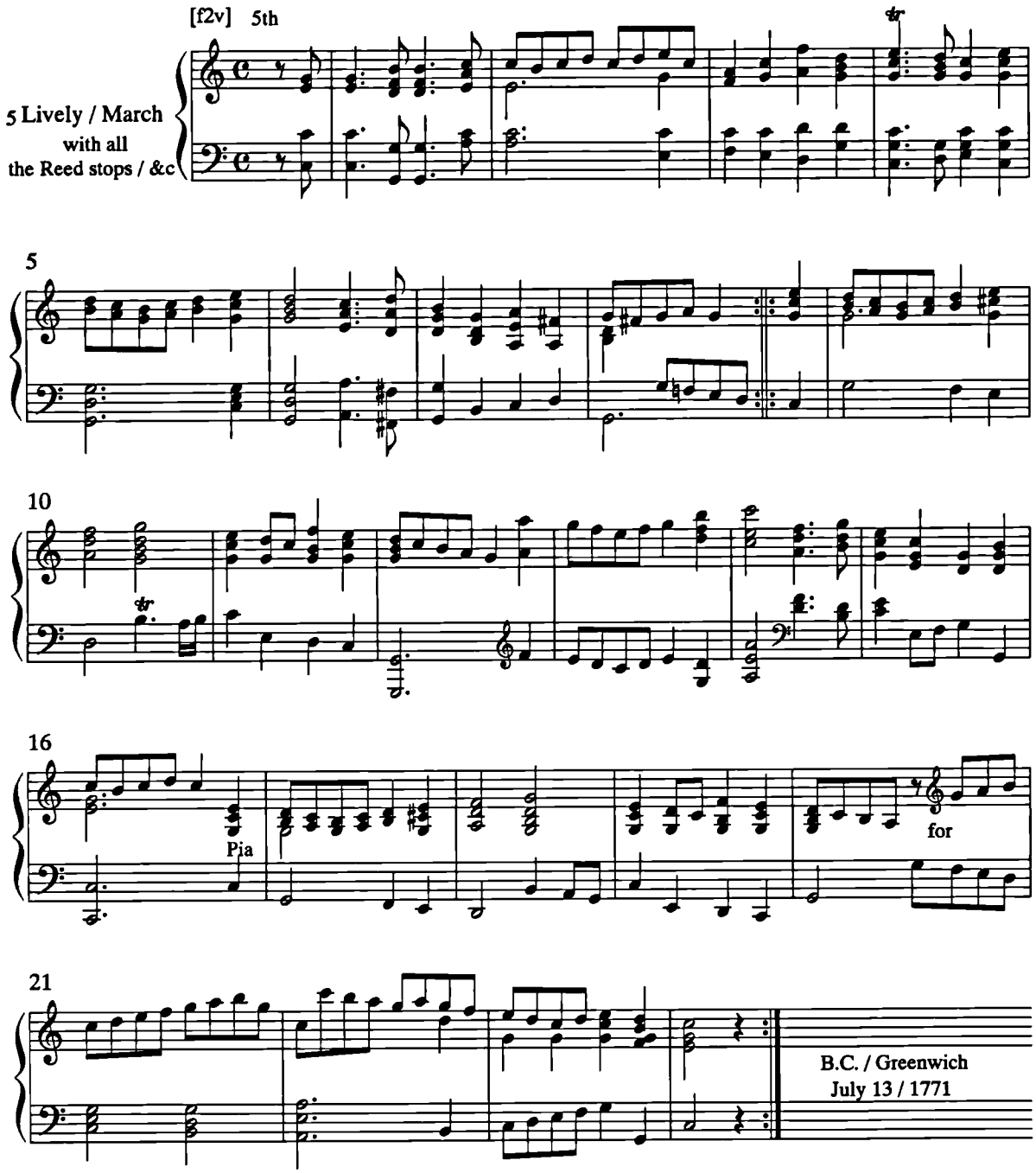

[f2r]
3d
3 Andante
Swell
stop Diapason
chair
5
10
16
Stop Diapason Chair
21
Swell
26
Ado ad Libitum
Volti

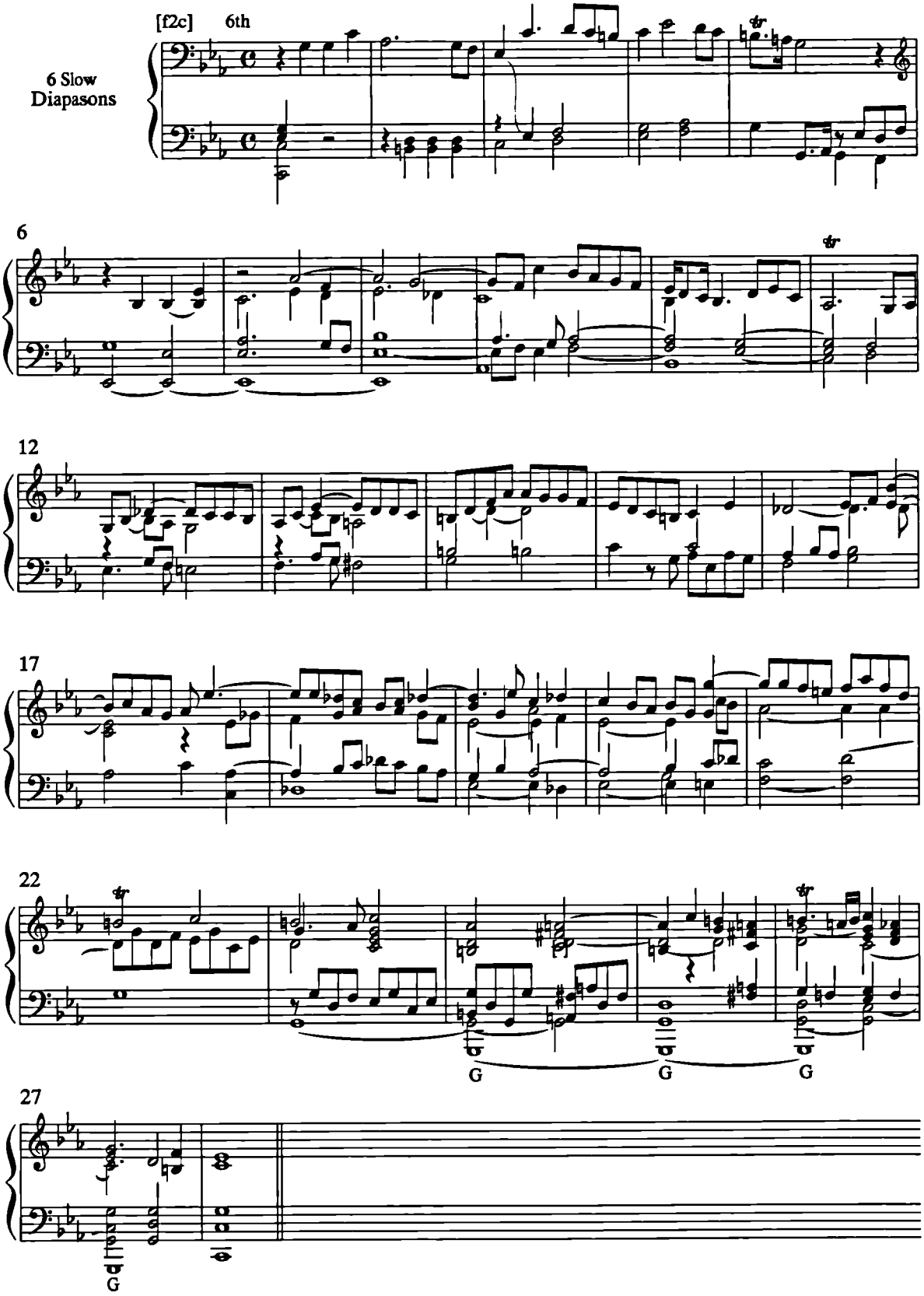
4 Minuet Allegro [f2v] 4th

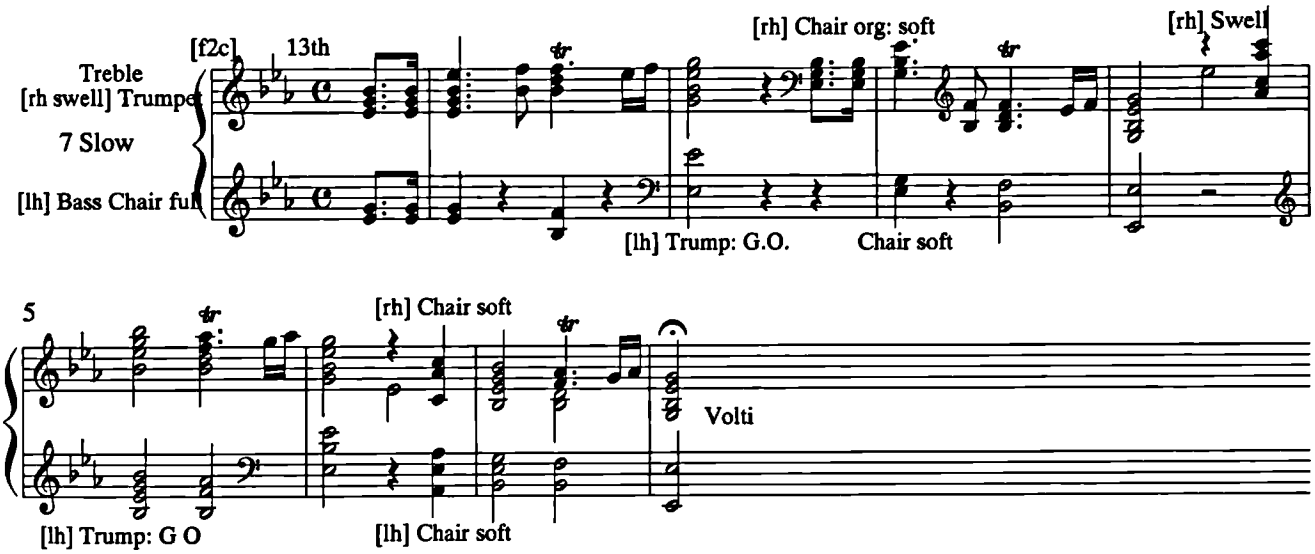
Full / Organ / without Reed Stops And the Repeats on the Diapasons / Principal / & Fifteenth

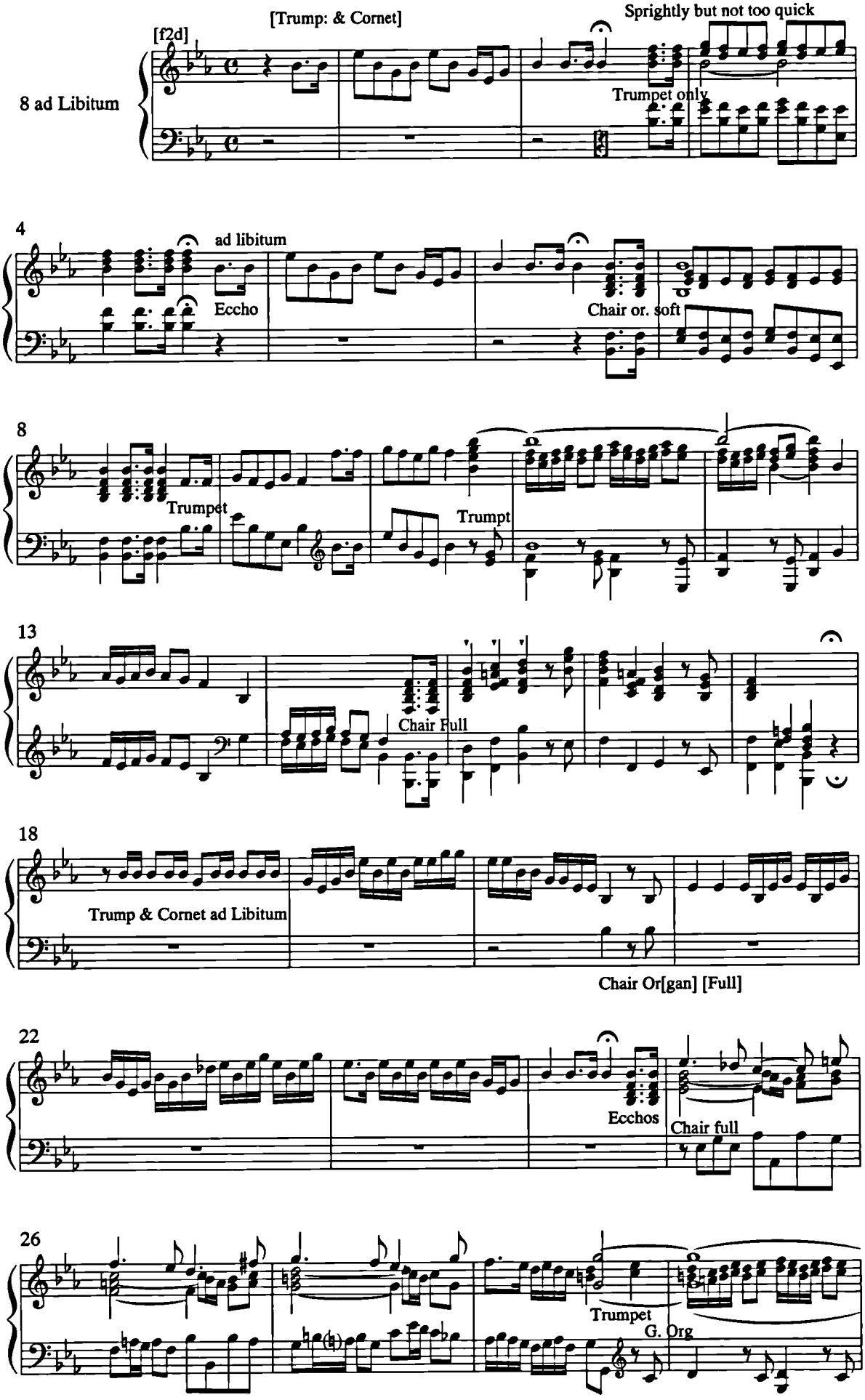


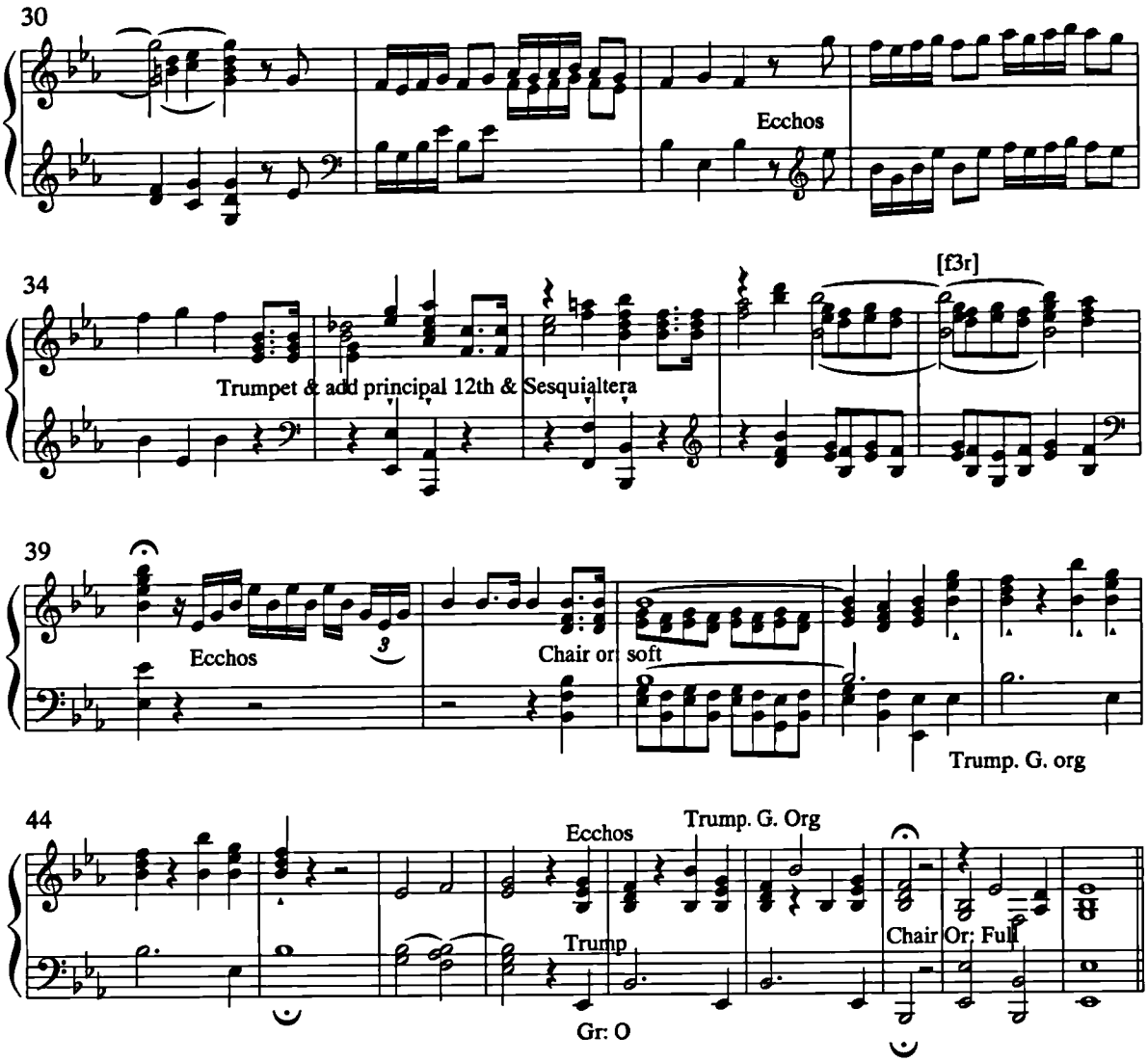

55


[f2v] 5th
5 Lively / March
with all
the Reed stops / &c
5
10
16
Pia
for
21
B.C. / Greenwich
July 13 / 1771

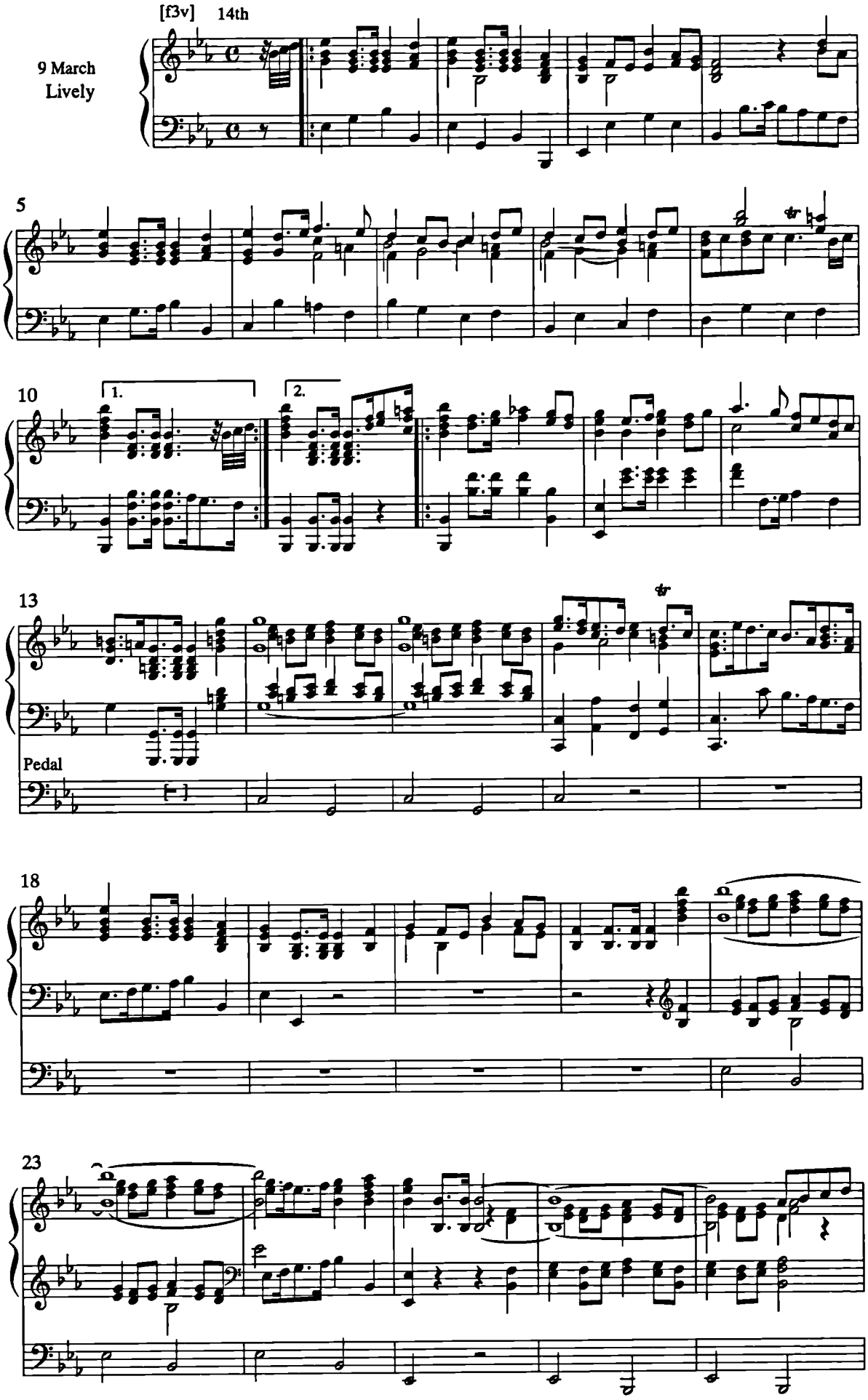

[f2c] 6th
6 Slow Diapasons
6
12
17
22
27
G
G
G
G

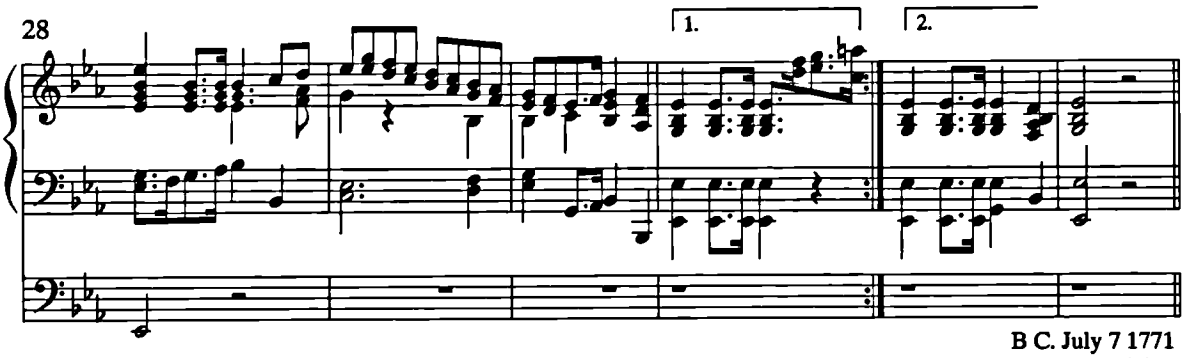

[f2c]
13th
Treble
[rh swell] Trumpet
7 Slow
[lh] Bass Chair full
[rh] Chair org: soft
[rh] Swell
[lh] Trump: G.O.
Chair soft
5
[rh] Chair soft
Volti
[lh] Trump: G O
[lh] Chair soft


[Trump: & Cornet]
Sprightly but not too quick
[f2d]
8 ad Libitum
Trumpet only
4
ad libitum
Eccho
Chair or. soft
8
Trumpet
Trumpt
13
Chair Full
18
Trump & Cornet ad Libitum
Chair Or[gan] [Full]
22
Ecchos
Chair full
26
Trumpet
G. Org



Turn over to the March


[f3v] 14th
9 March
Lively
5
10
1.
2.
13
Pedal
18
23

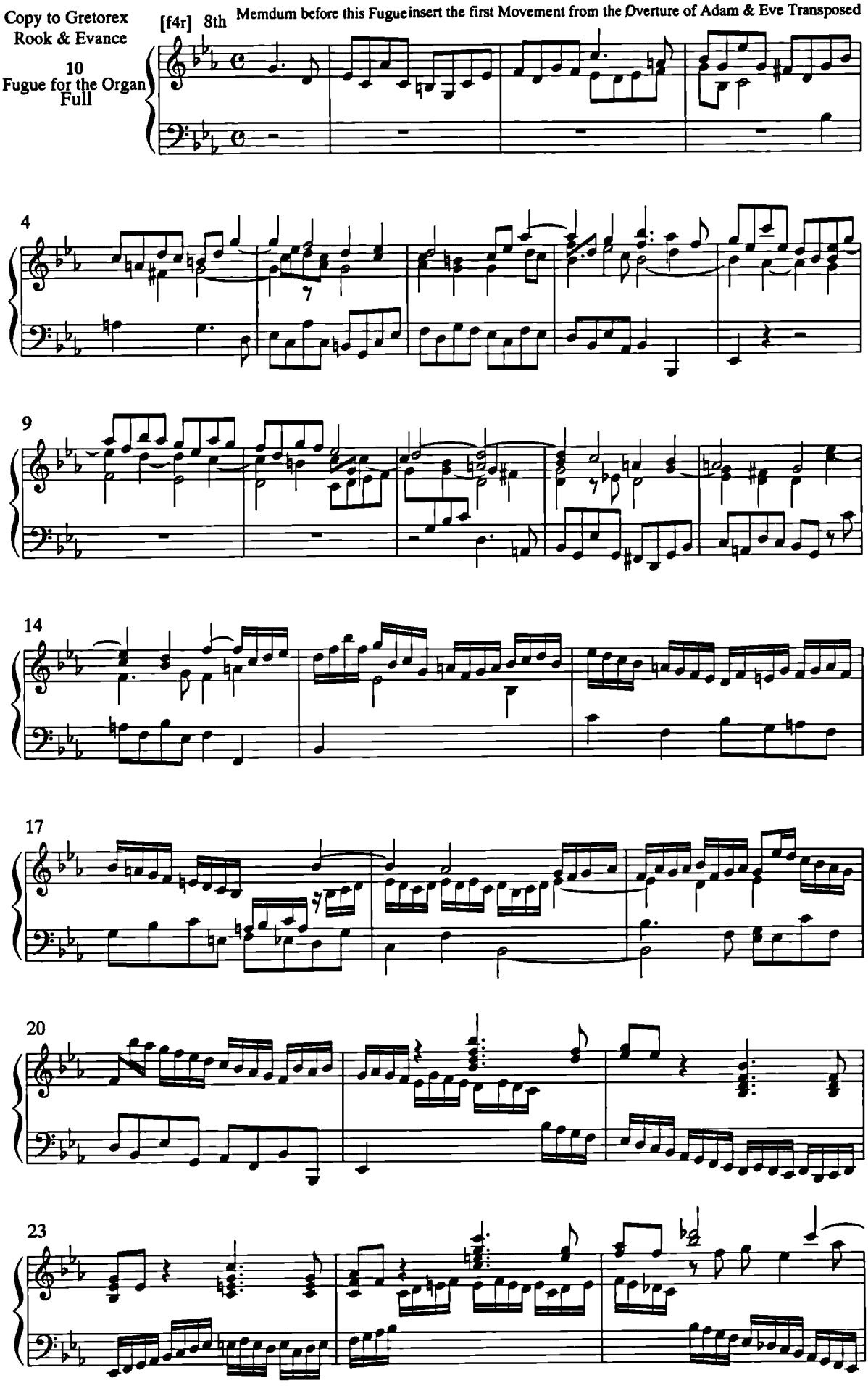


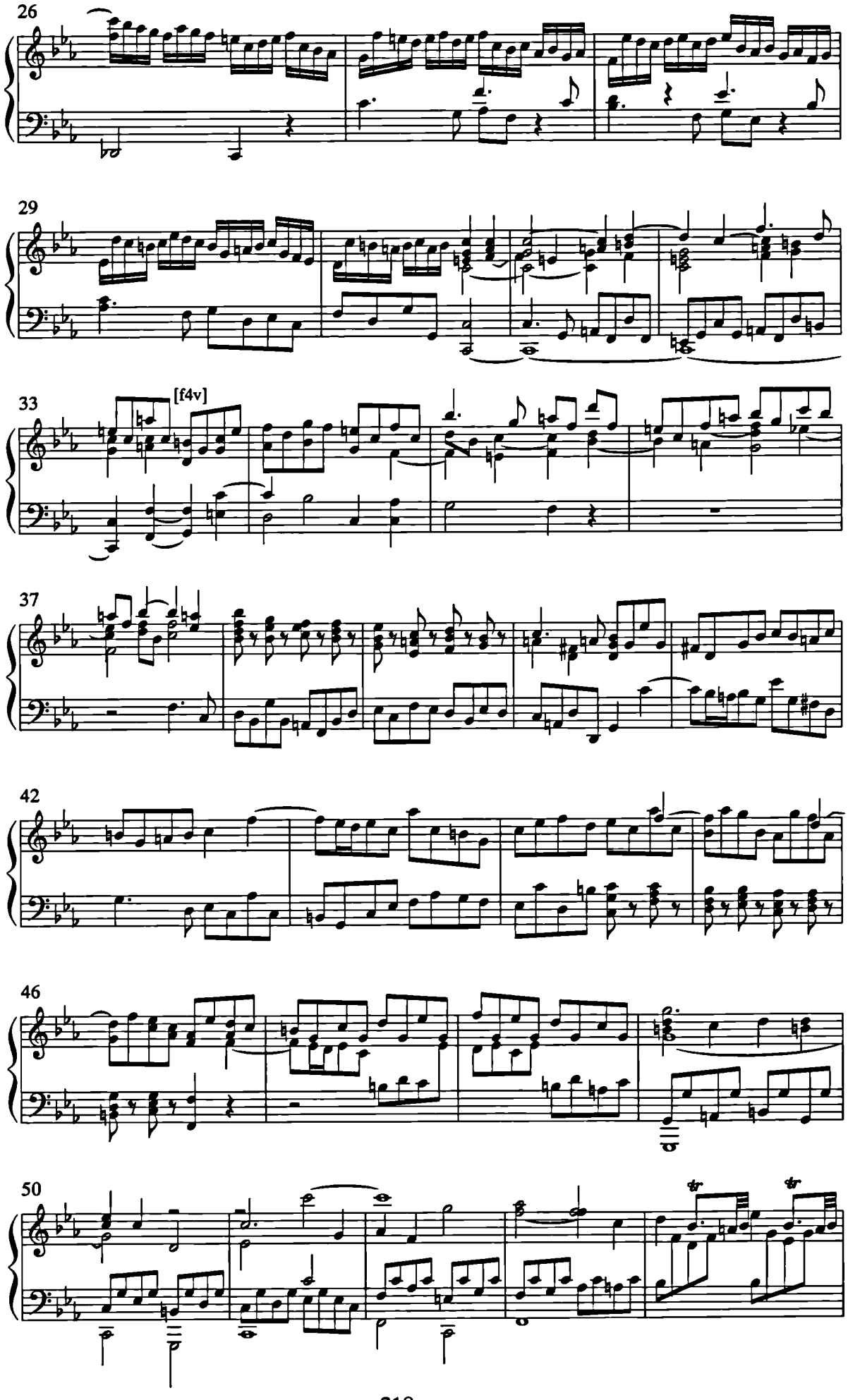
B C. July 7 1771
Greenwich
Dorset House

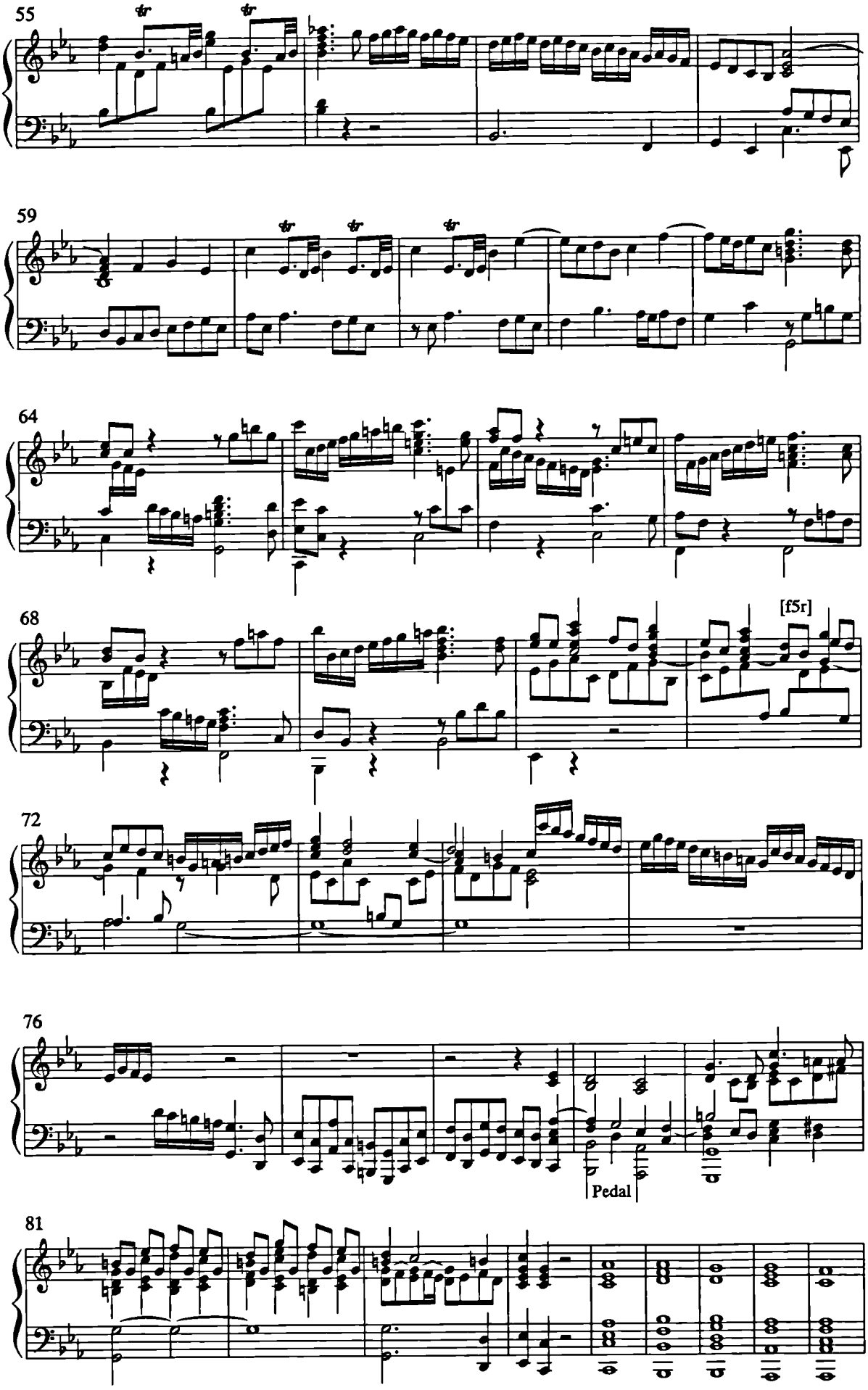
Copy to Gretorex
Rook & Evance

10
Fugue for the Organ
Full

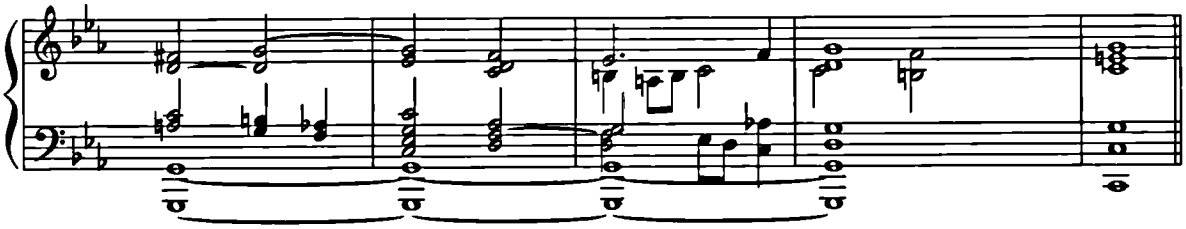
[f4r] 8th Memdum before this Fugue insert the first Movement from the Overture of Adam & Eve Transposed



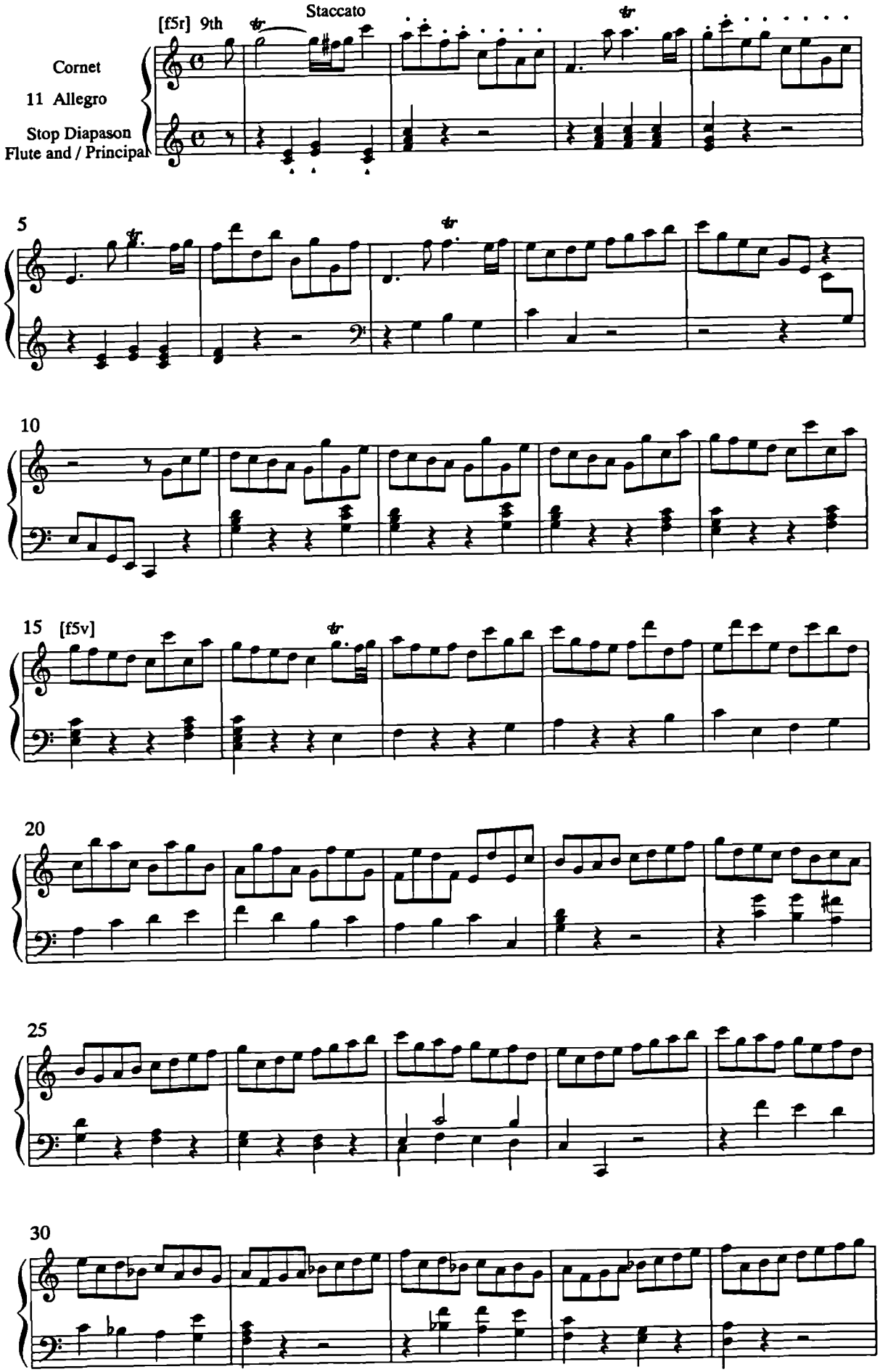

26
29
33
[f4v]
37
42
46
50

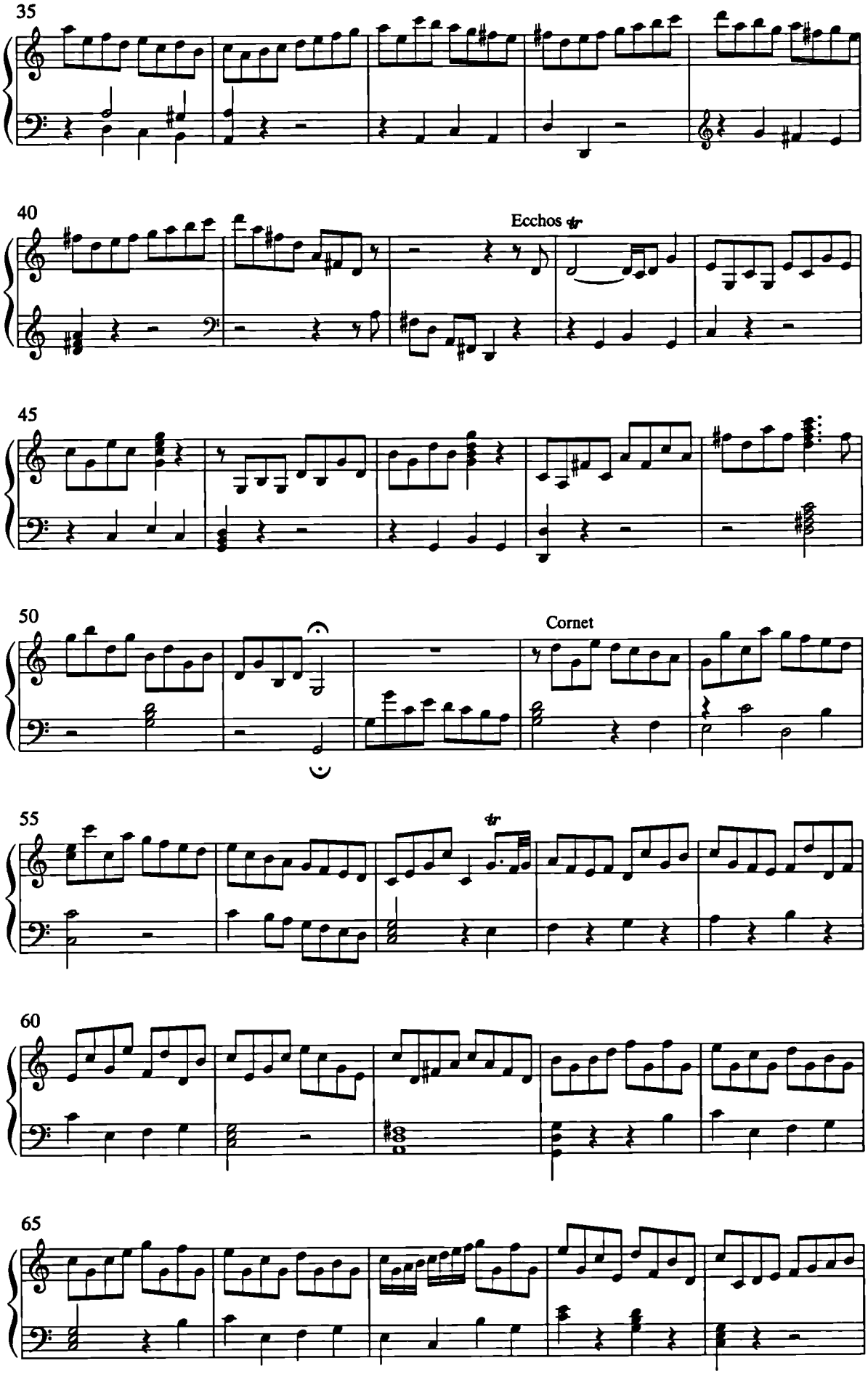

55
59
64
68
[f5r]
72
76
Pedal
81

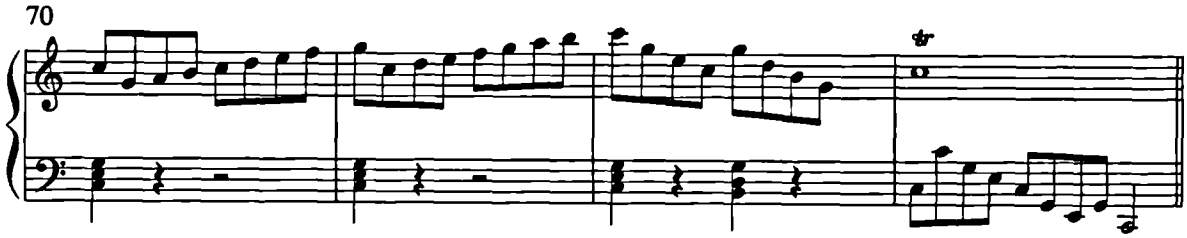
90



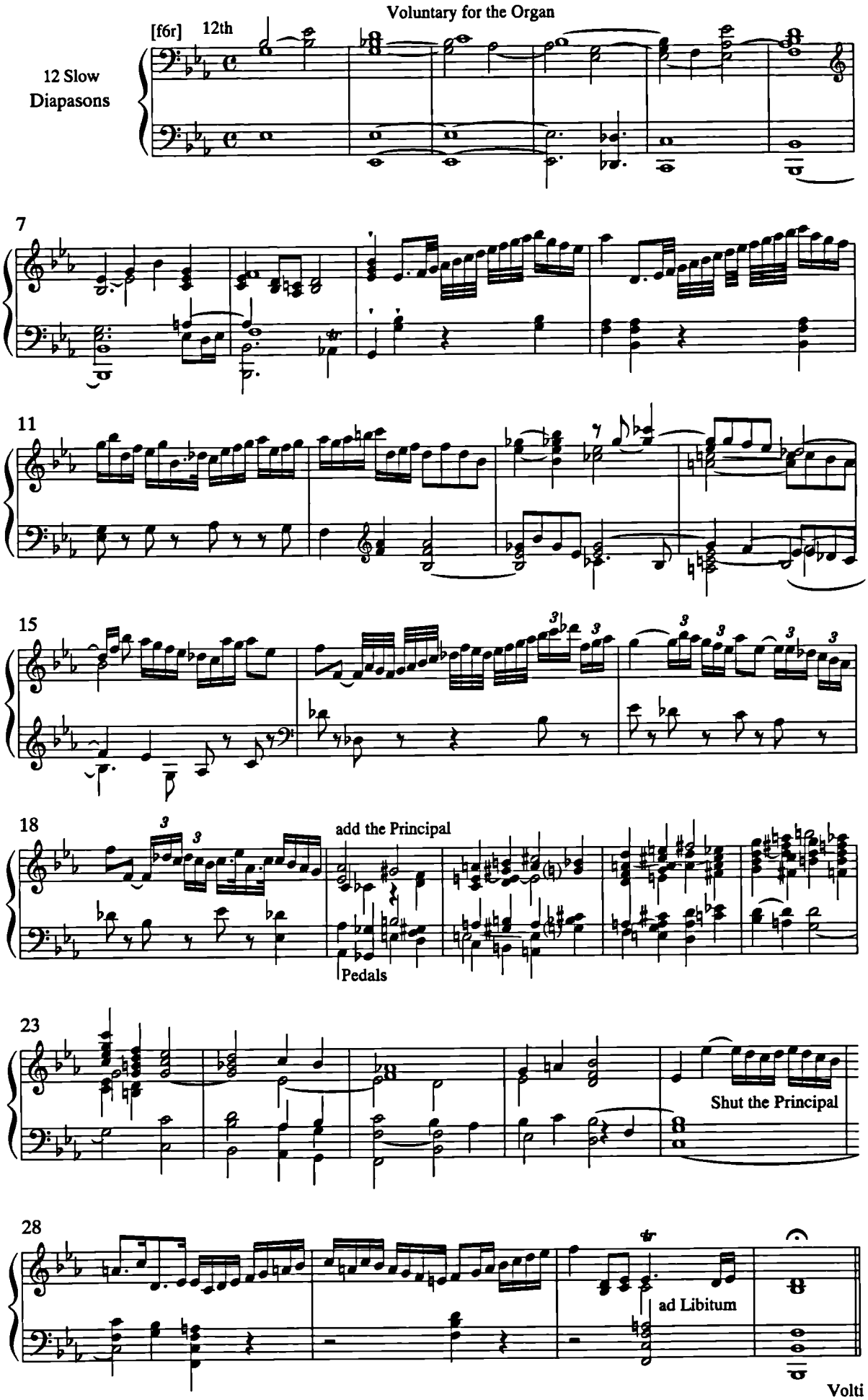
July 18 1771
Greenwich

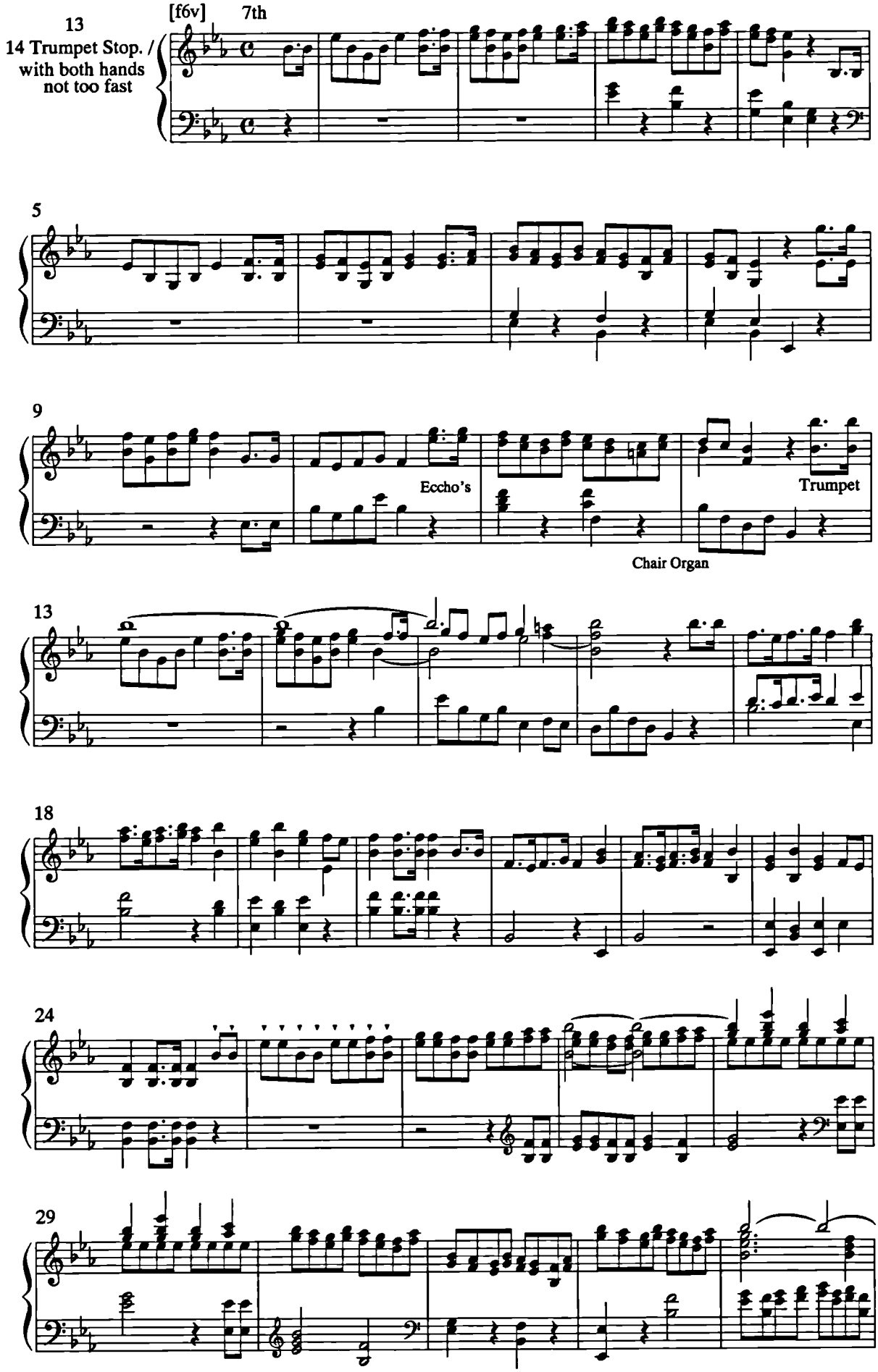

[f5r] 9th
Staccato
Cornet
11 Allegro
Stop Diapason
Flute and / Principal
5
10
15
[f5v]
20
25
30

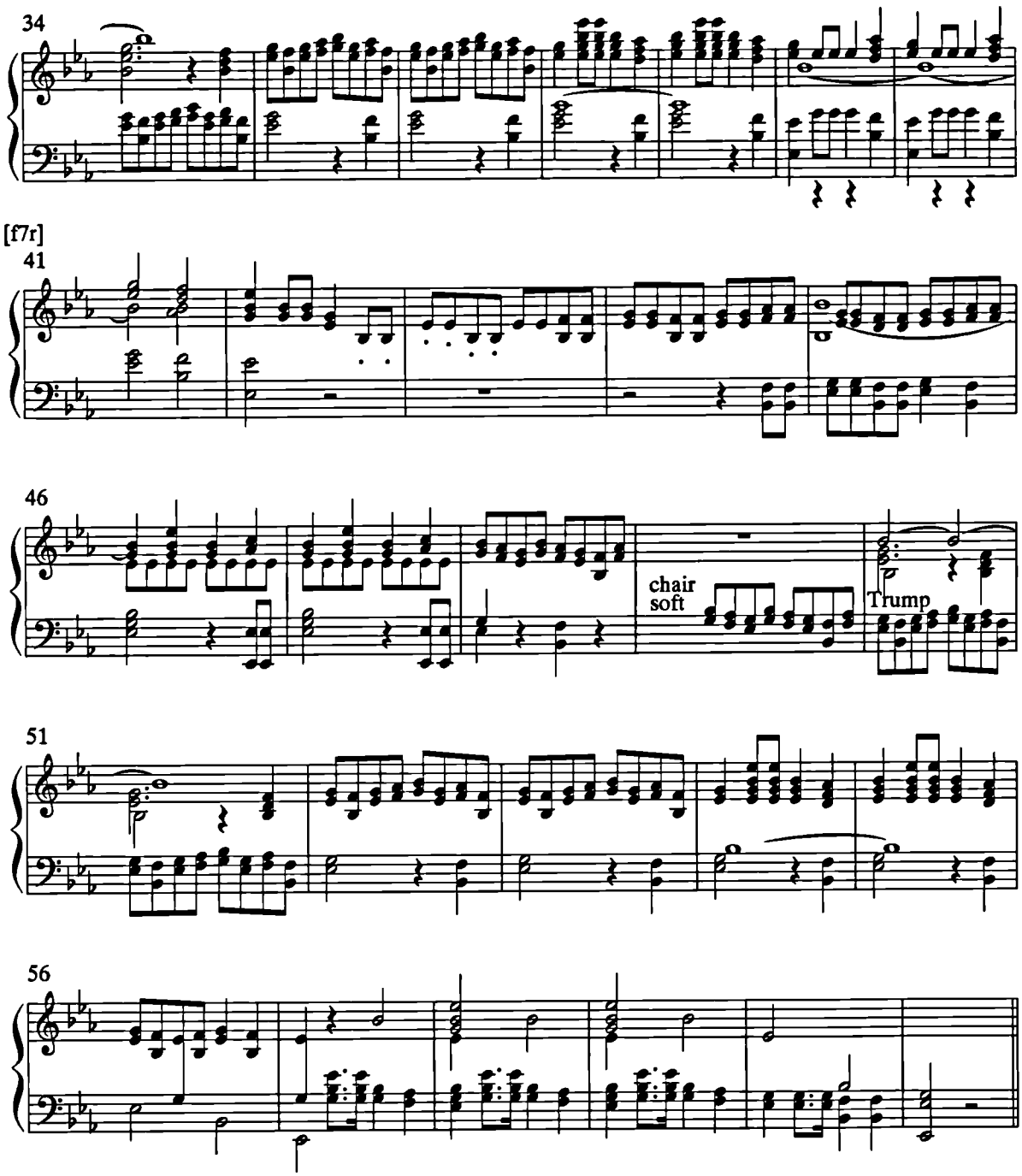

35
40
Ecchos
45
50
Cornet
55
60
65



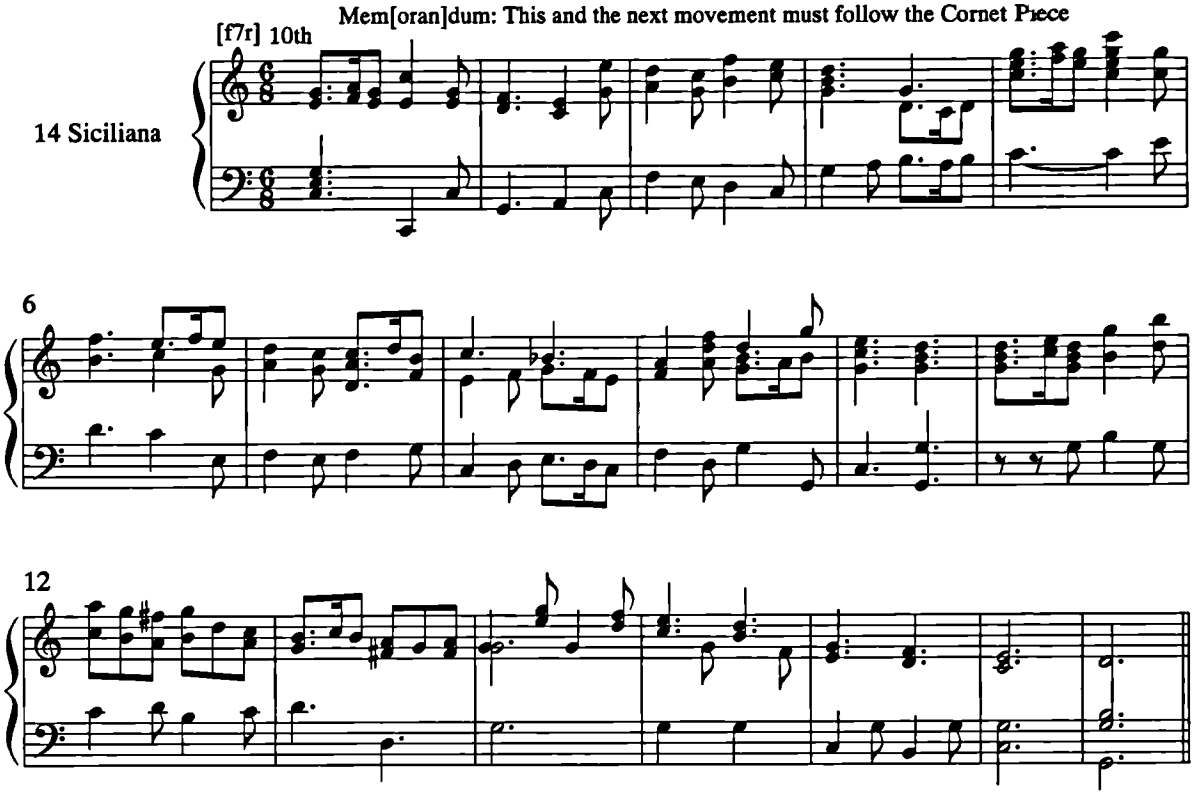
July 18, 1771
Greenwich

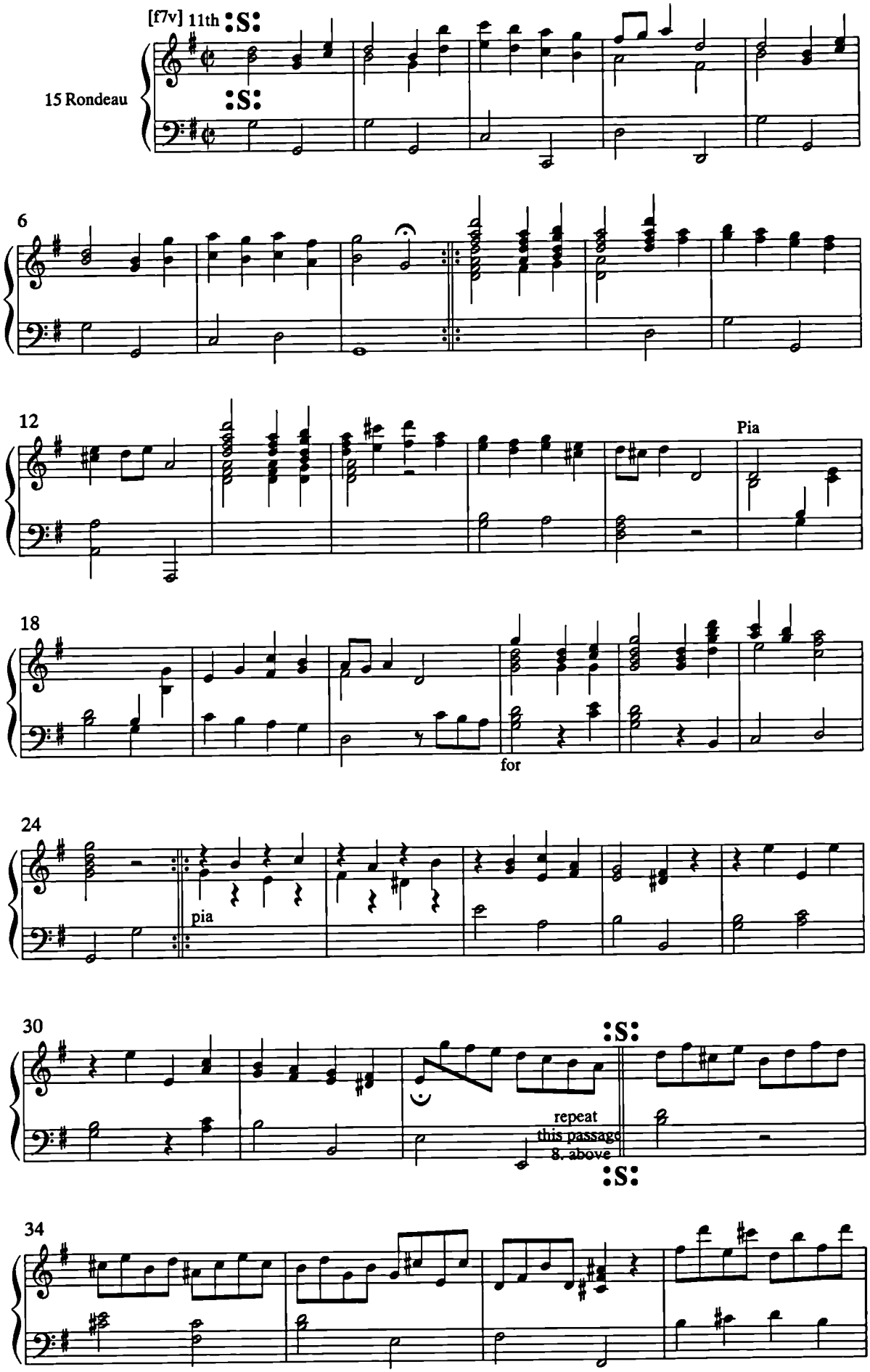

[f6r]
12th
12 Slow
Diapasons
7
11
15
18
add the Principal
Pedals
23
Shut the Principal
28
ad Libitum
Volti

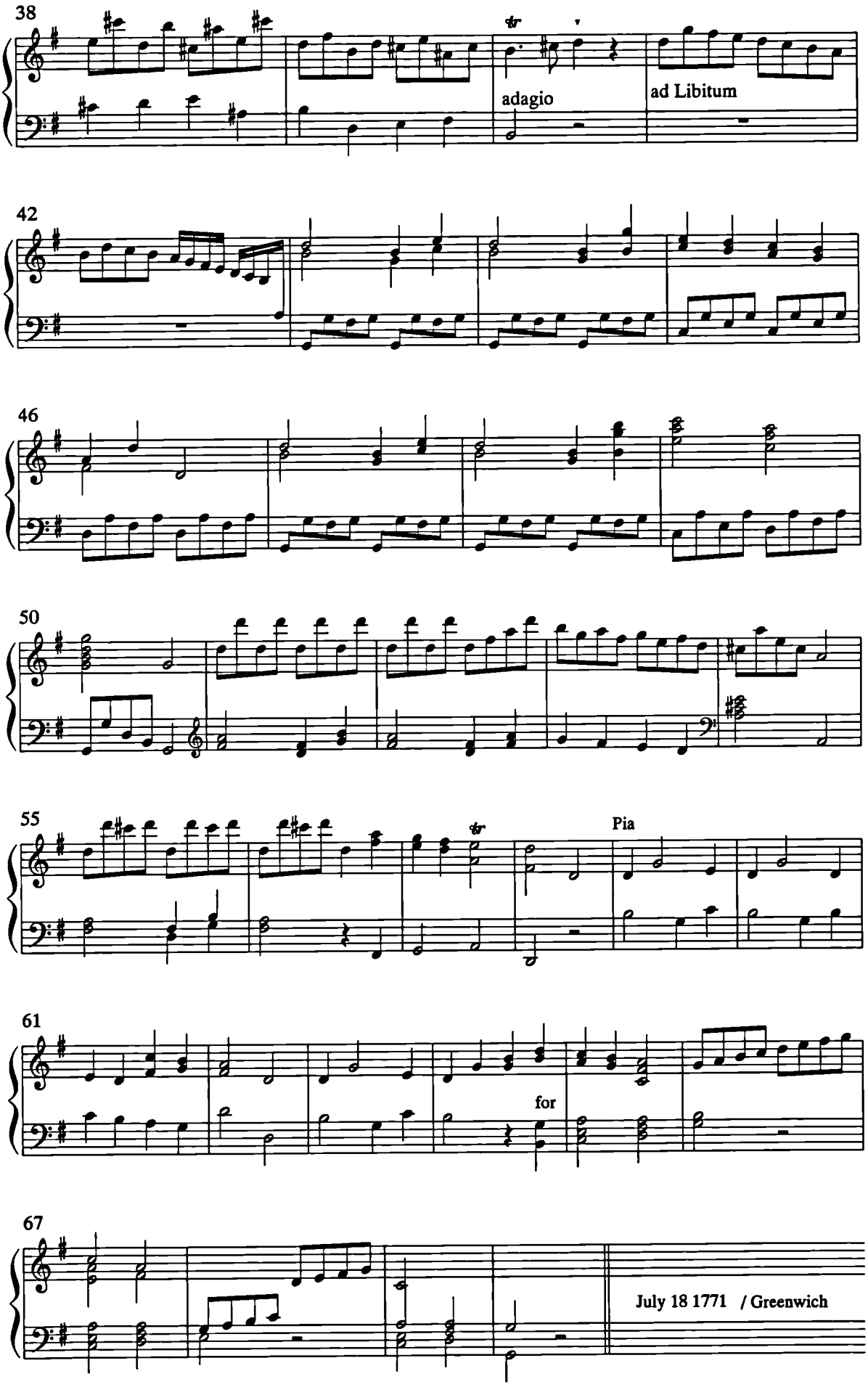

13
14 Trumpet Stop. /
with both hands
not too fast
[f6v]
7th
5
9
Eccho's
Trumpet
Chair Organ
13
18
24
29

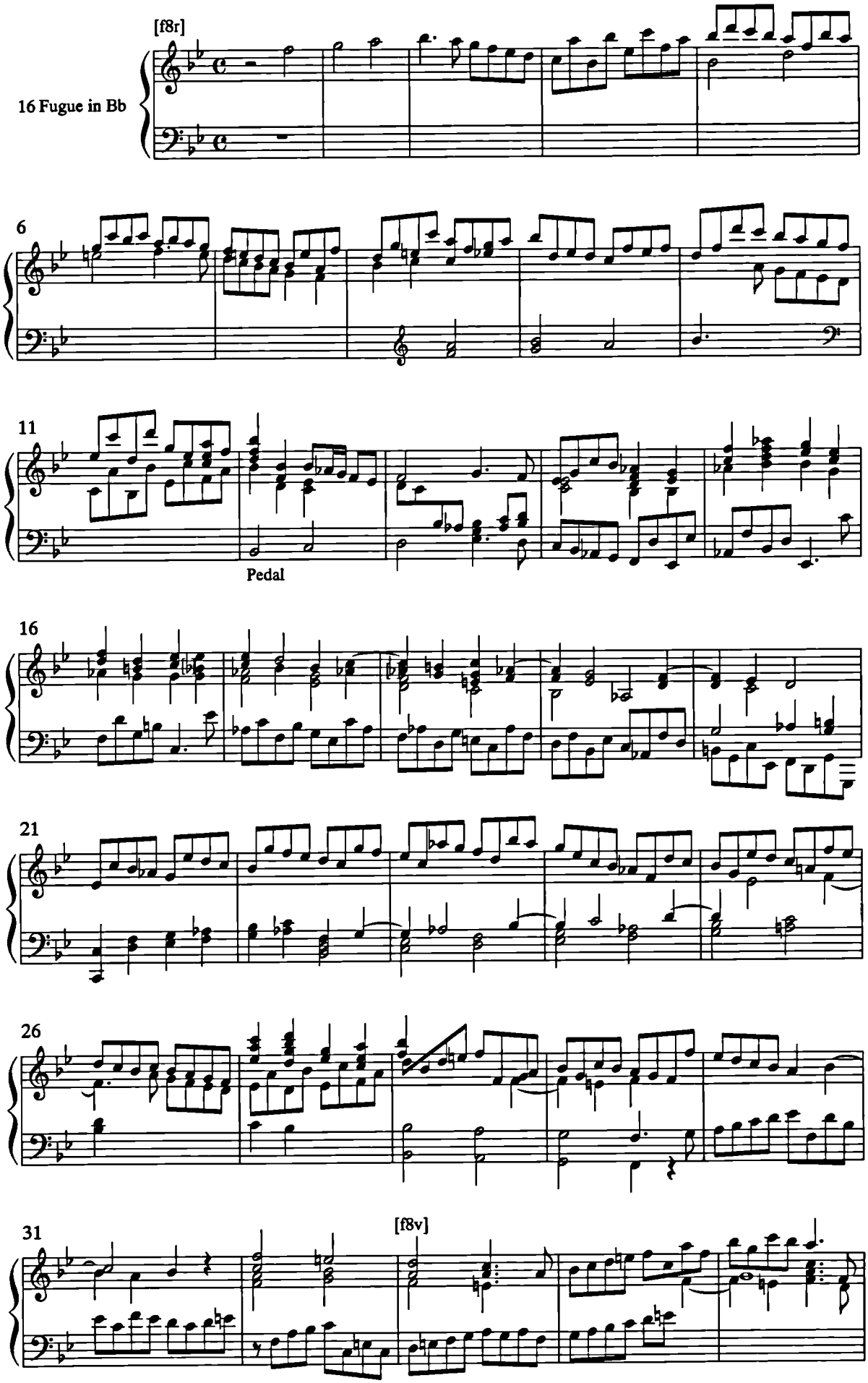


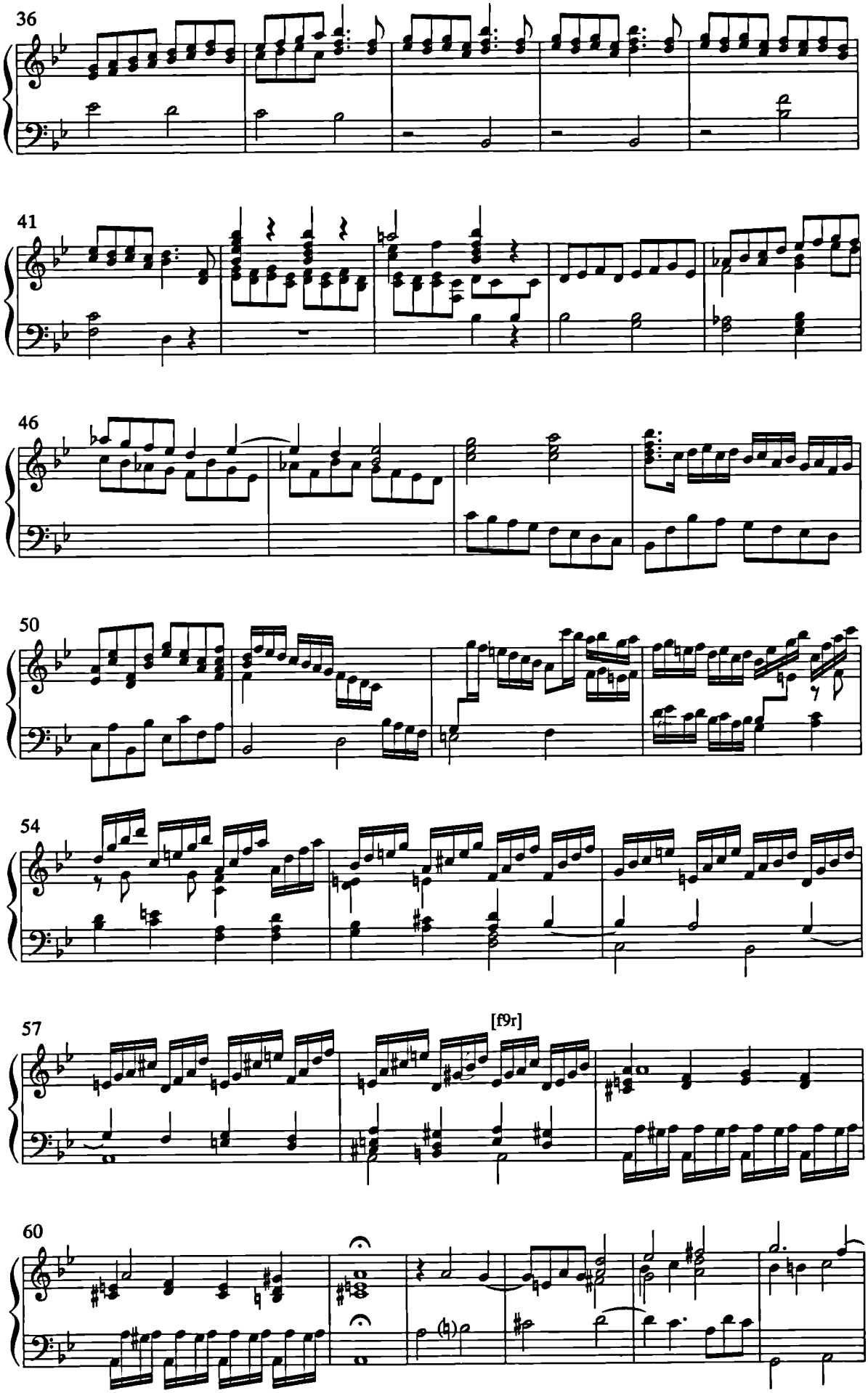
July / 13 1771 /
Greenwich / & /
Dorset Court

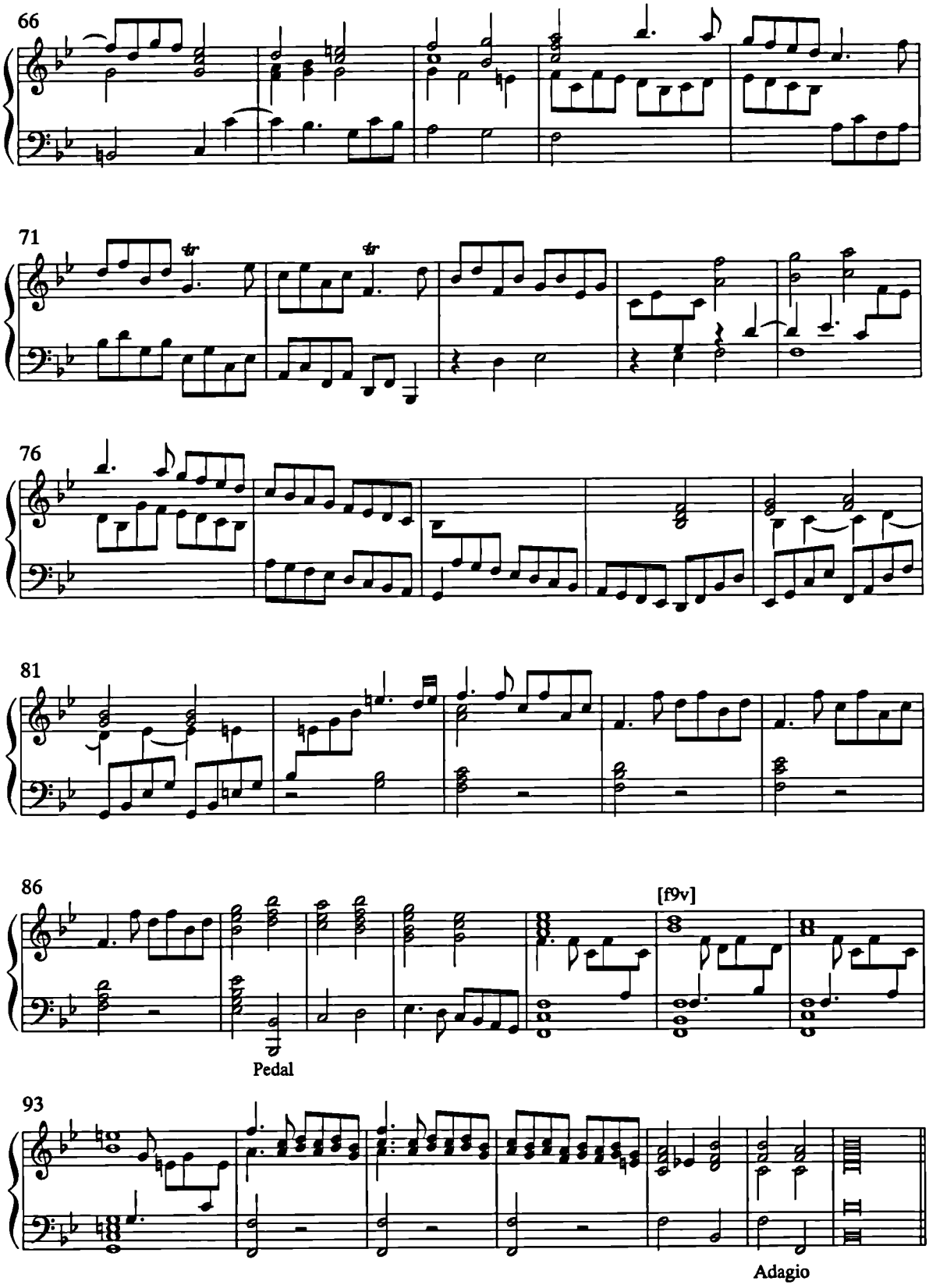

Mem[oran]dum: This and the next movement must follow the Cornet Piece
[f7r] 10th
14 Siciliana
6
12

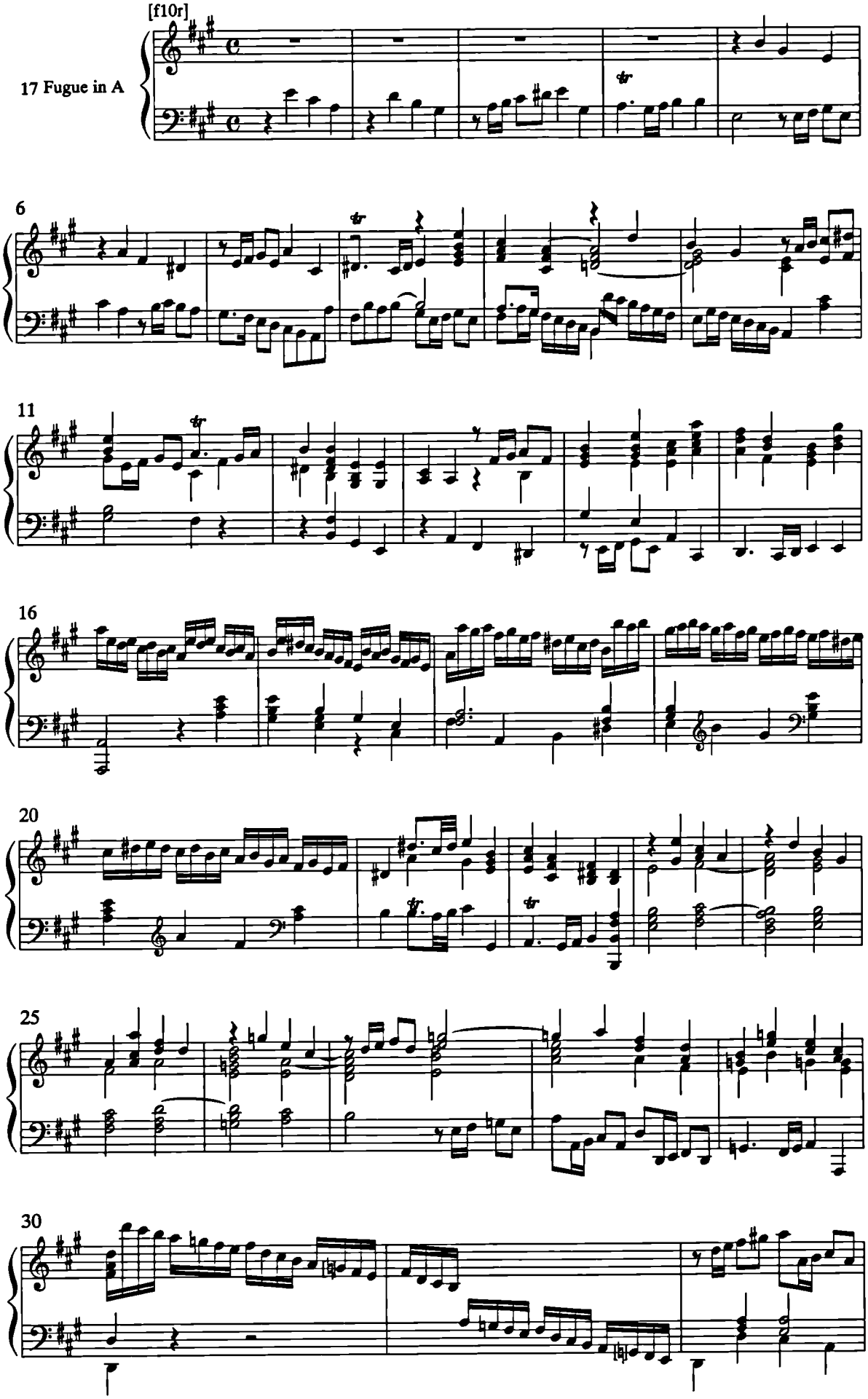

[f7v] 11th
15 Rondeau
6
12
Pia
18
for
24
pia
30
repeat
this passage
8. above
34

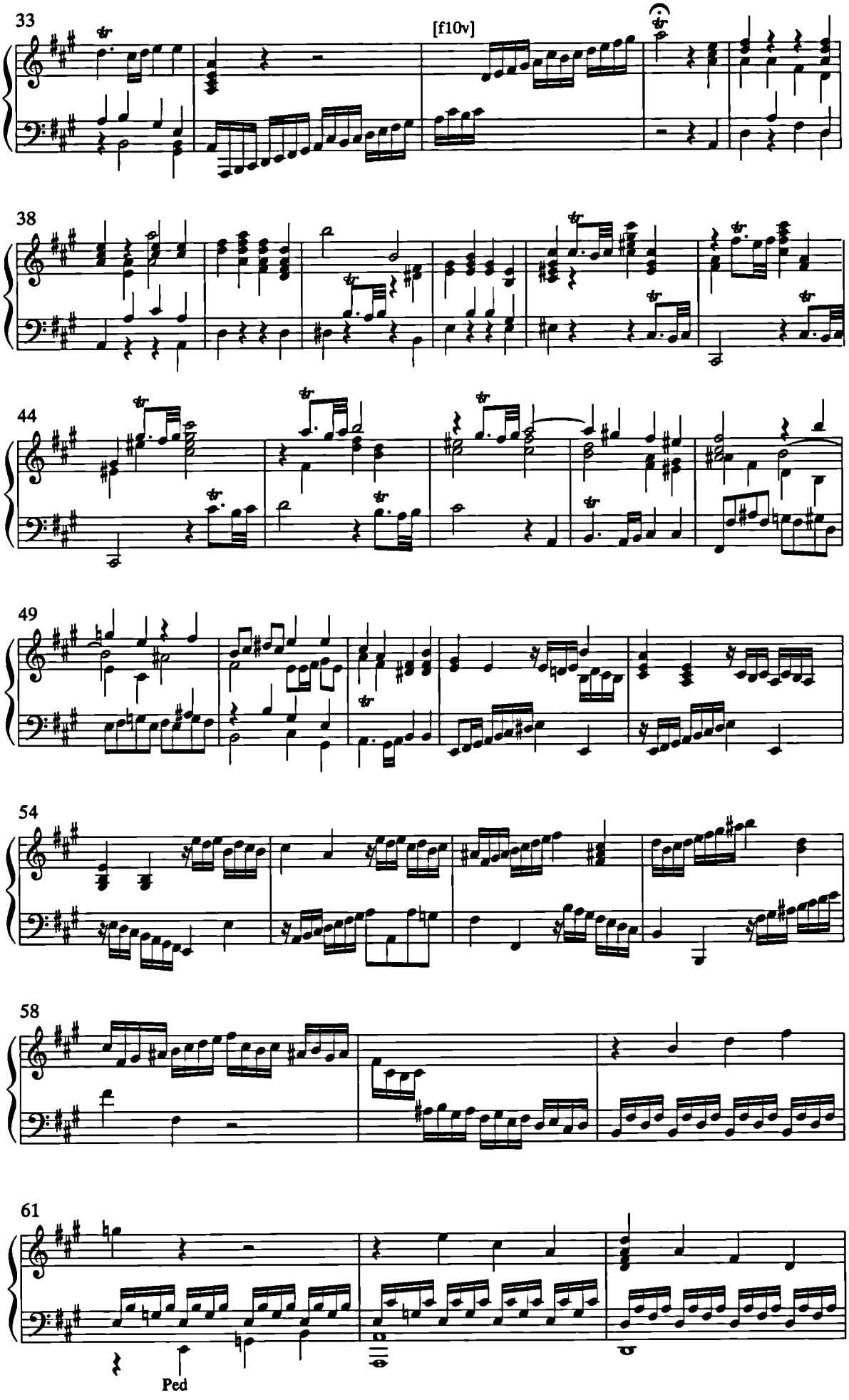

38
adagio
ad Libitum
42
46
50
55
Pia
61
for
67
July 18 1771 / Greenwich

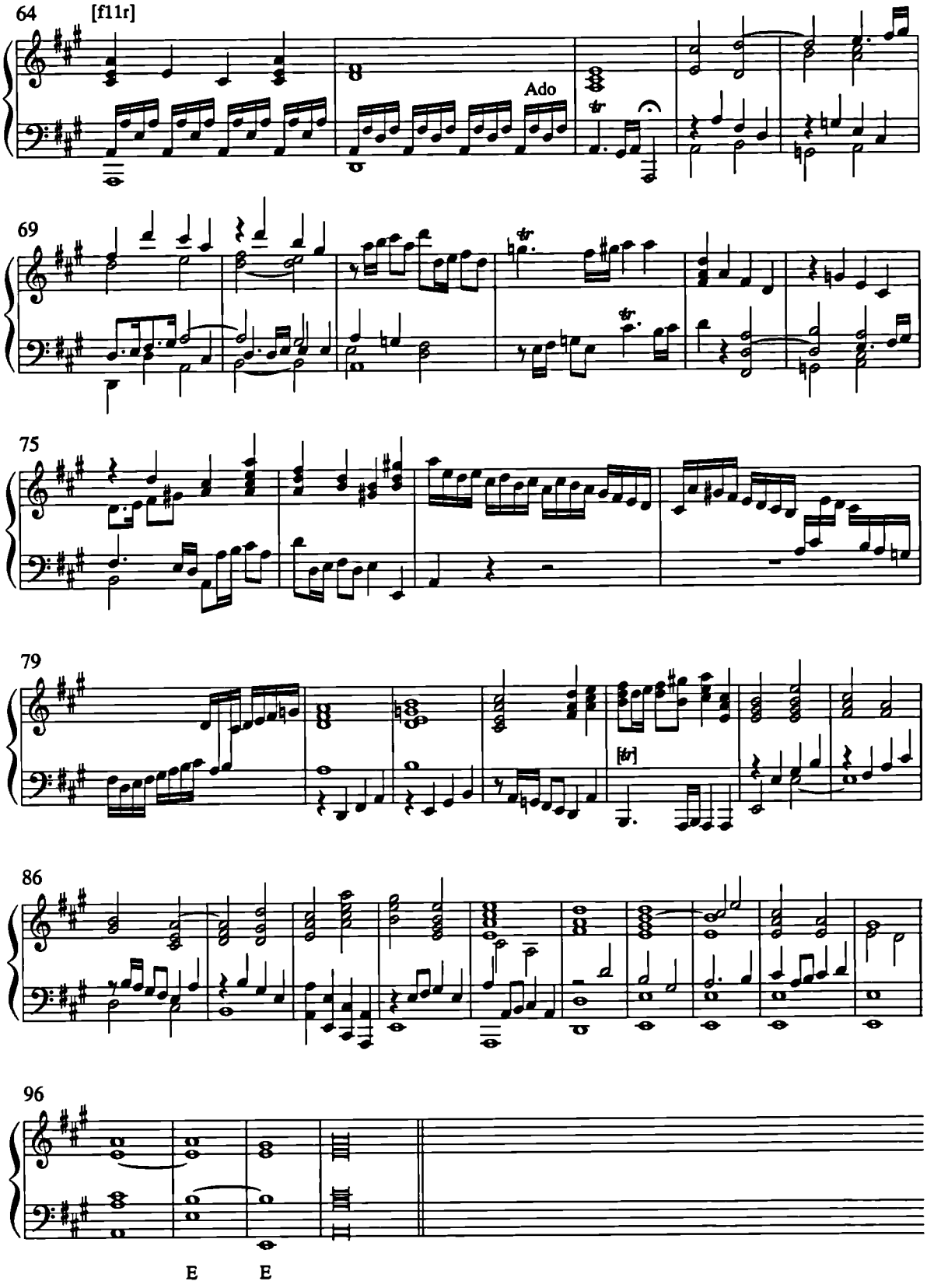

16 Fugue in Bb
[f8r]
6
11
Pedal
16
21
26
31
[f8v]


36
41
46
50
54
57
[f9r]
60


66
71
76
81
86
[f9v]
Pedal
93
Adagio


[f10r]
17 Fugue in A
6
11
16
20
25
30


33
[f10v]
38
44
49
54
58
61
Ped


64
[f11r]
Ado
69
75
79
[tr]
86
96
E
E

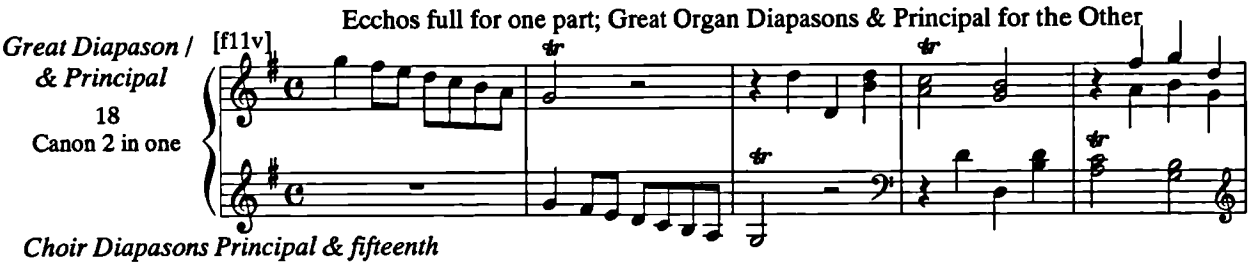
Ecchos full for one part; Great Organ Diapasons & Principal for the Other

Great Diapason / & Principal

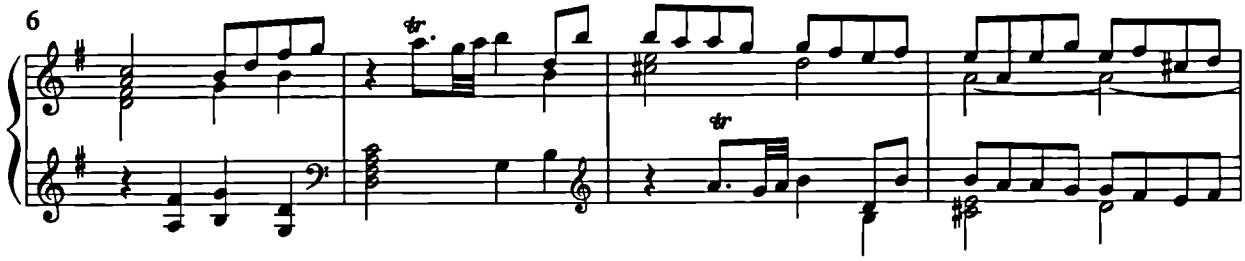
18

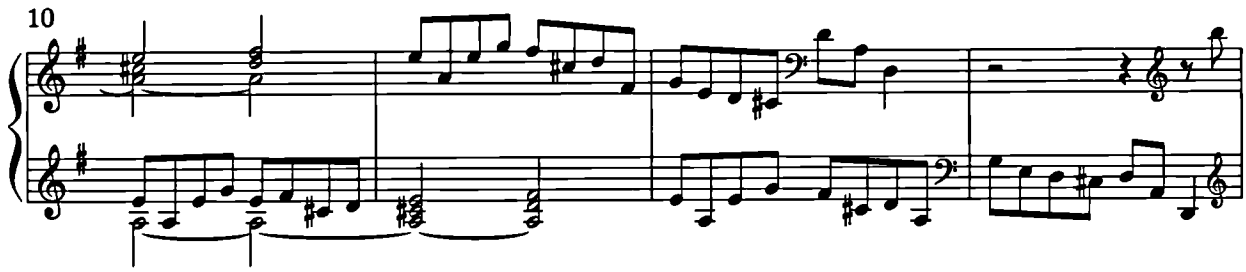
Canon 2 in one

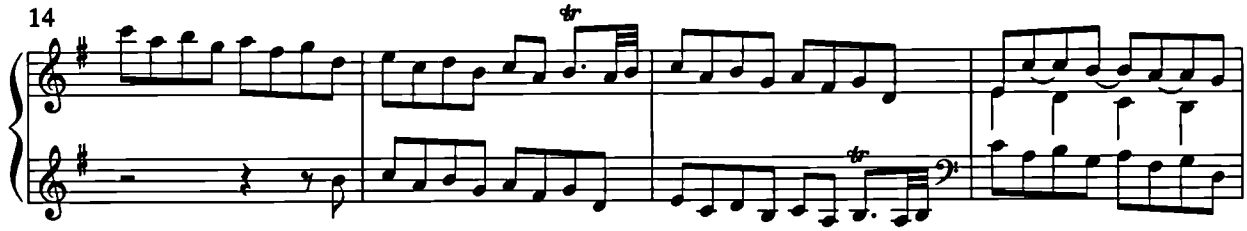
[f11v]

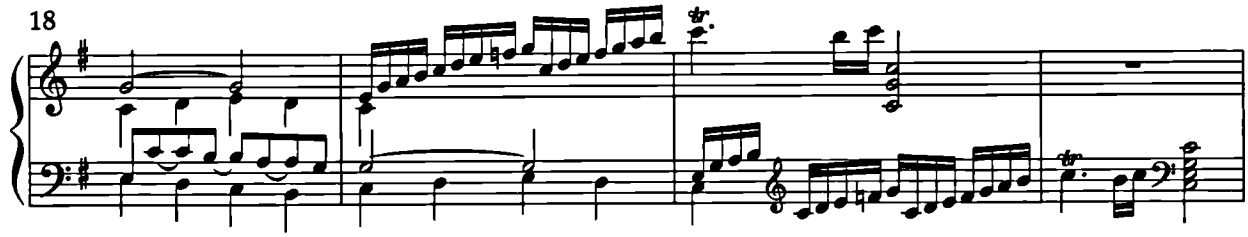


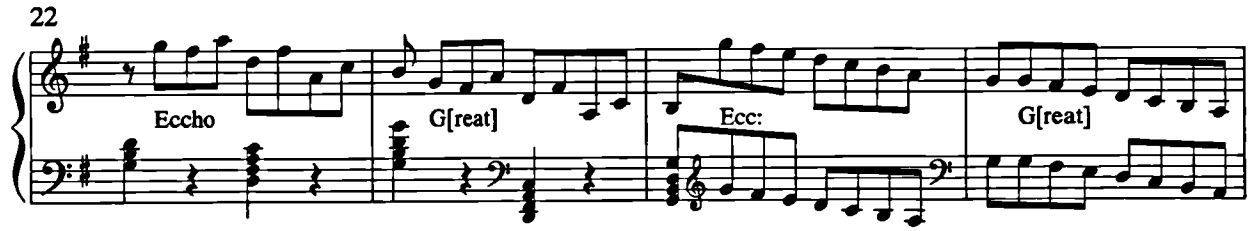
Choir Diapasons Principal & fifteenth

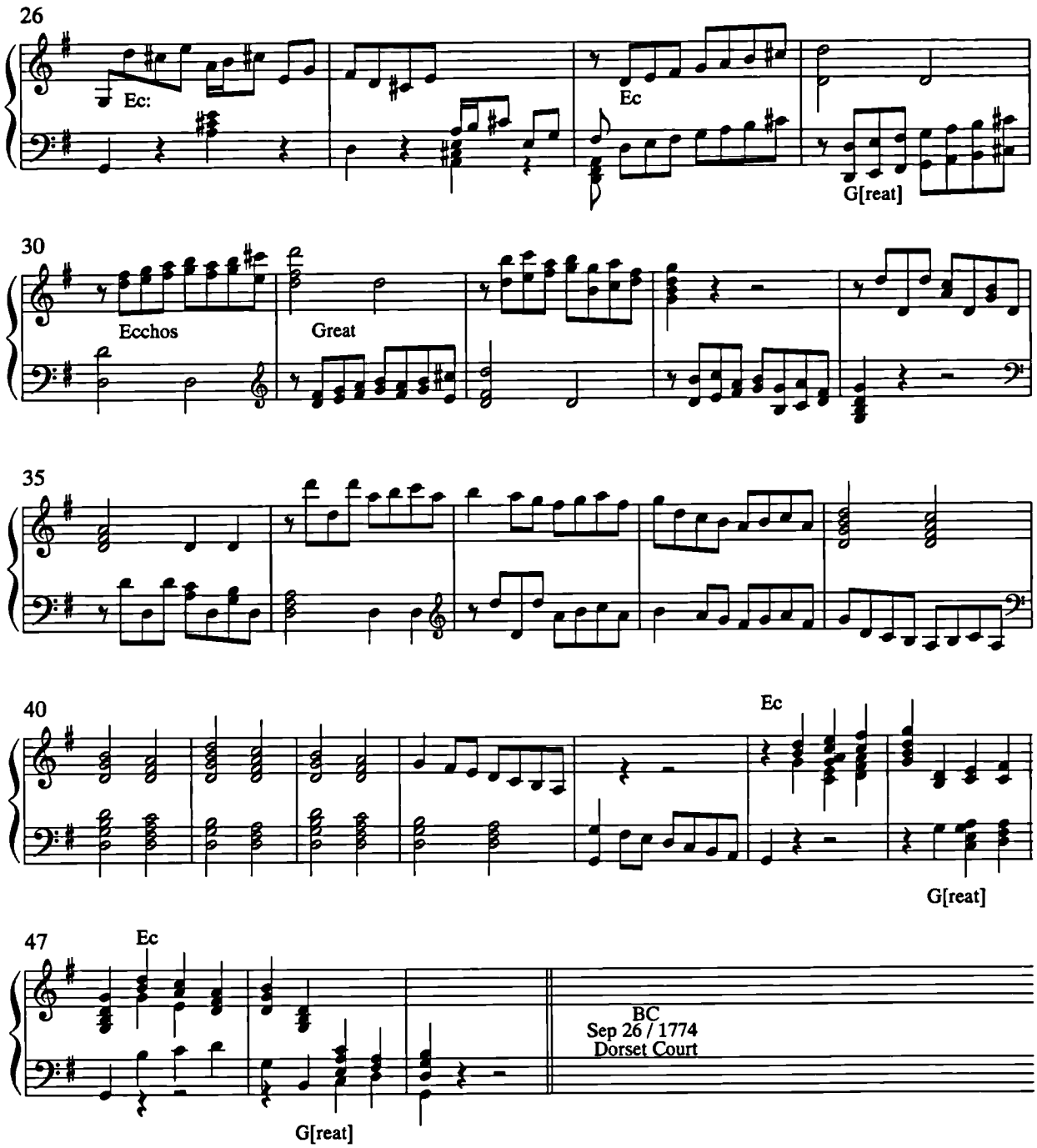






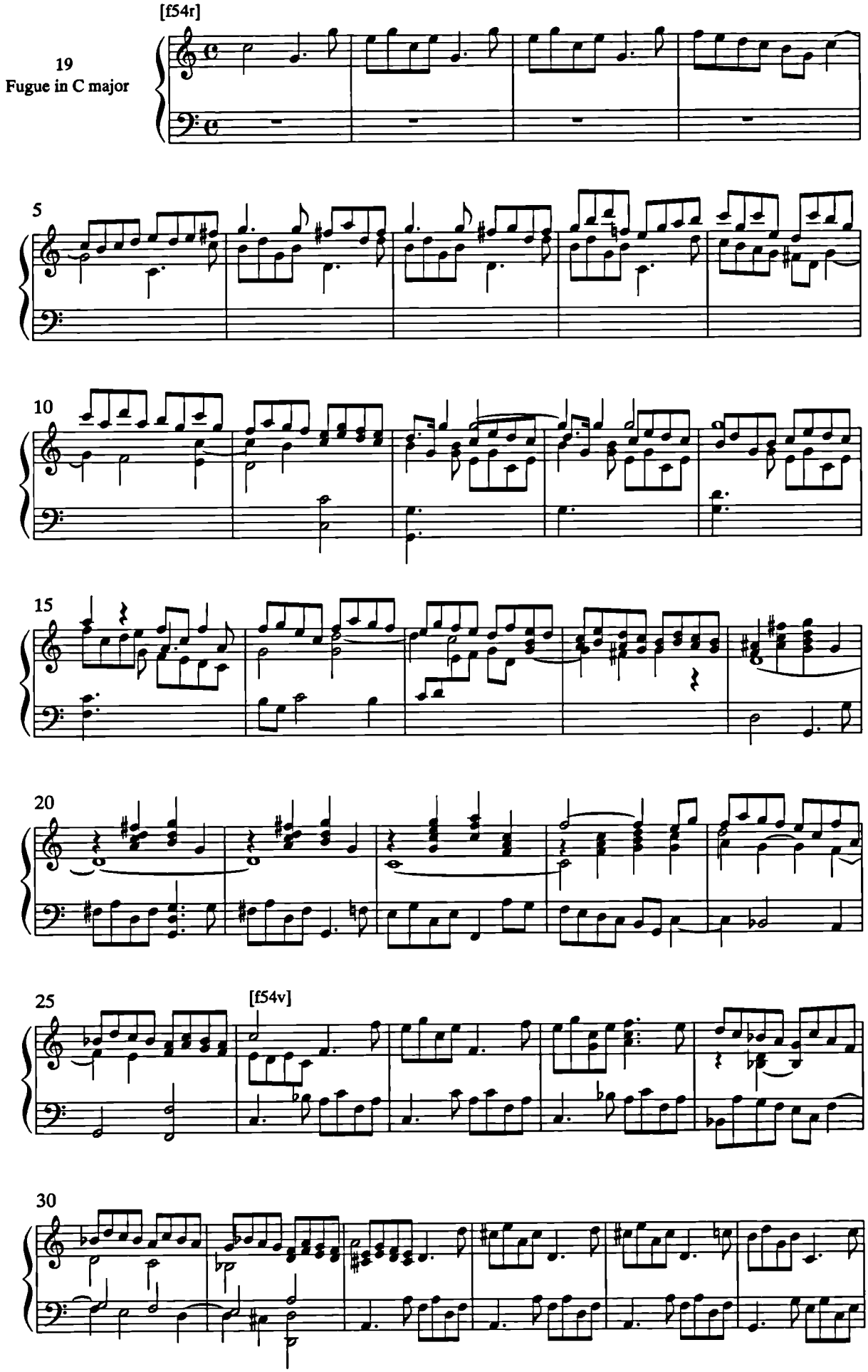


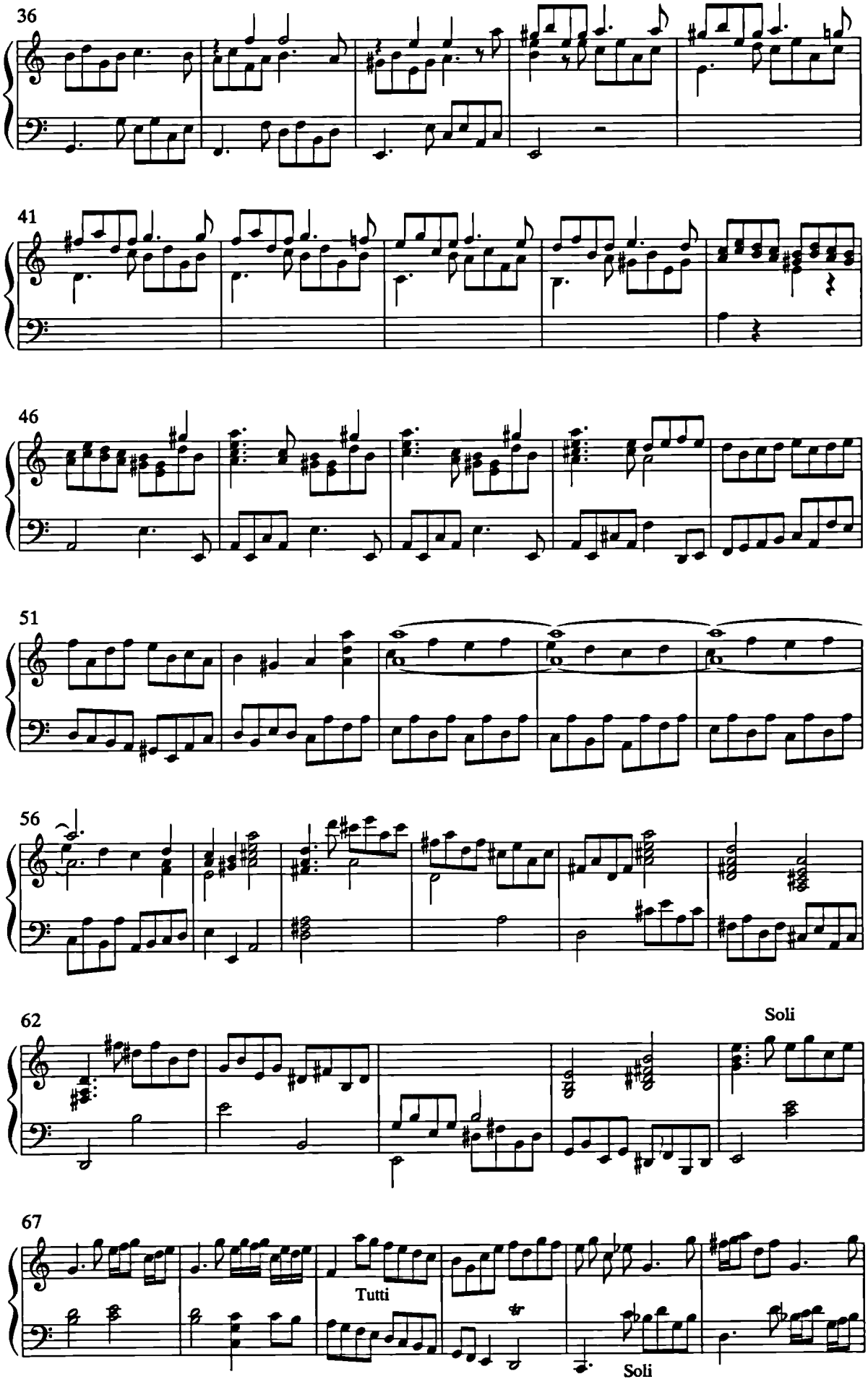


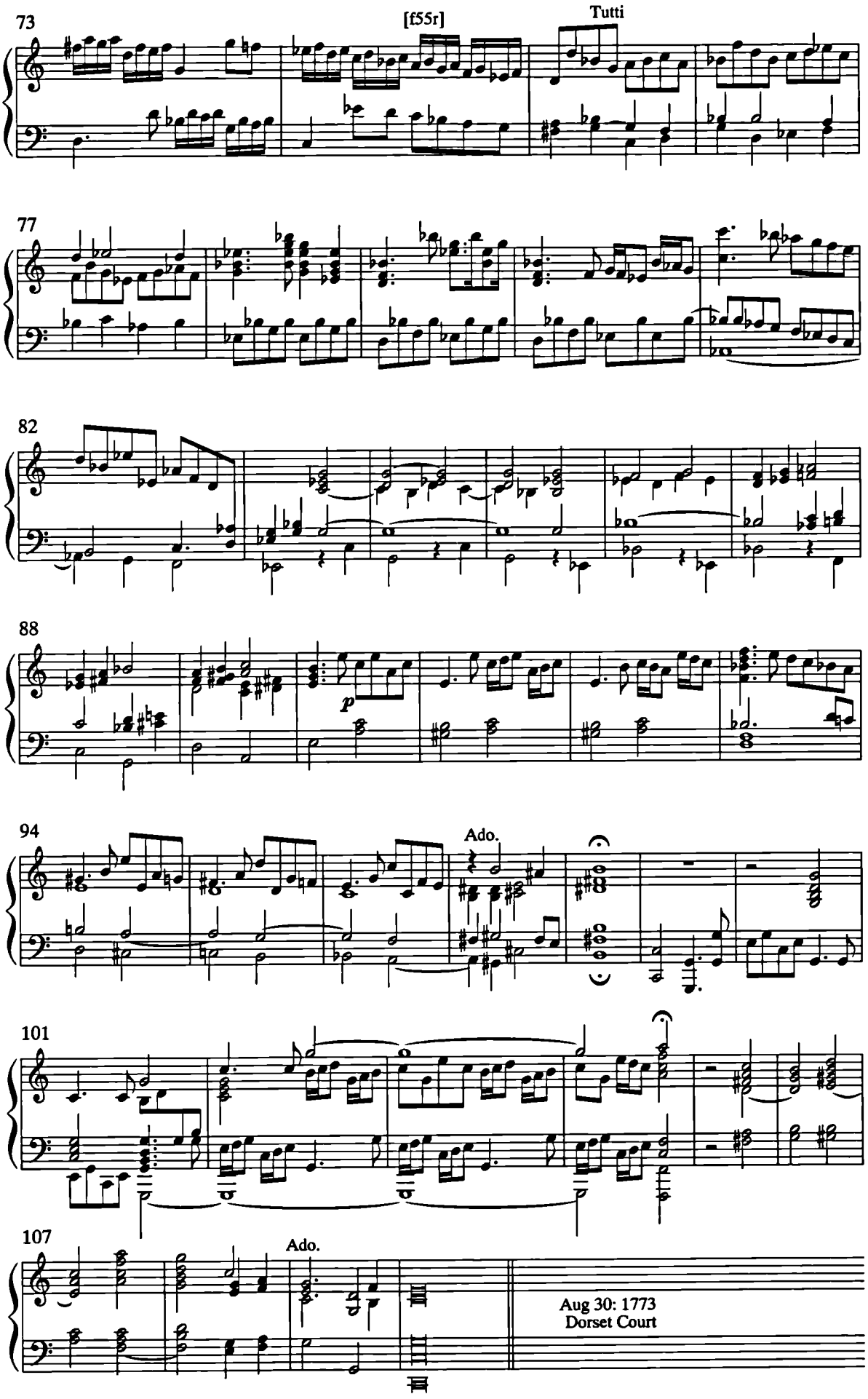

26
Ec:
Ec
G[reat]
30
Ecchos
Great
35
40
Ec
G[reat]
47
Ec
G[reat]
BC
Sep 26 / 1774
Dorset Court

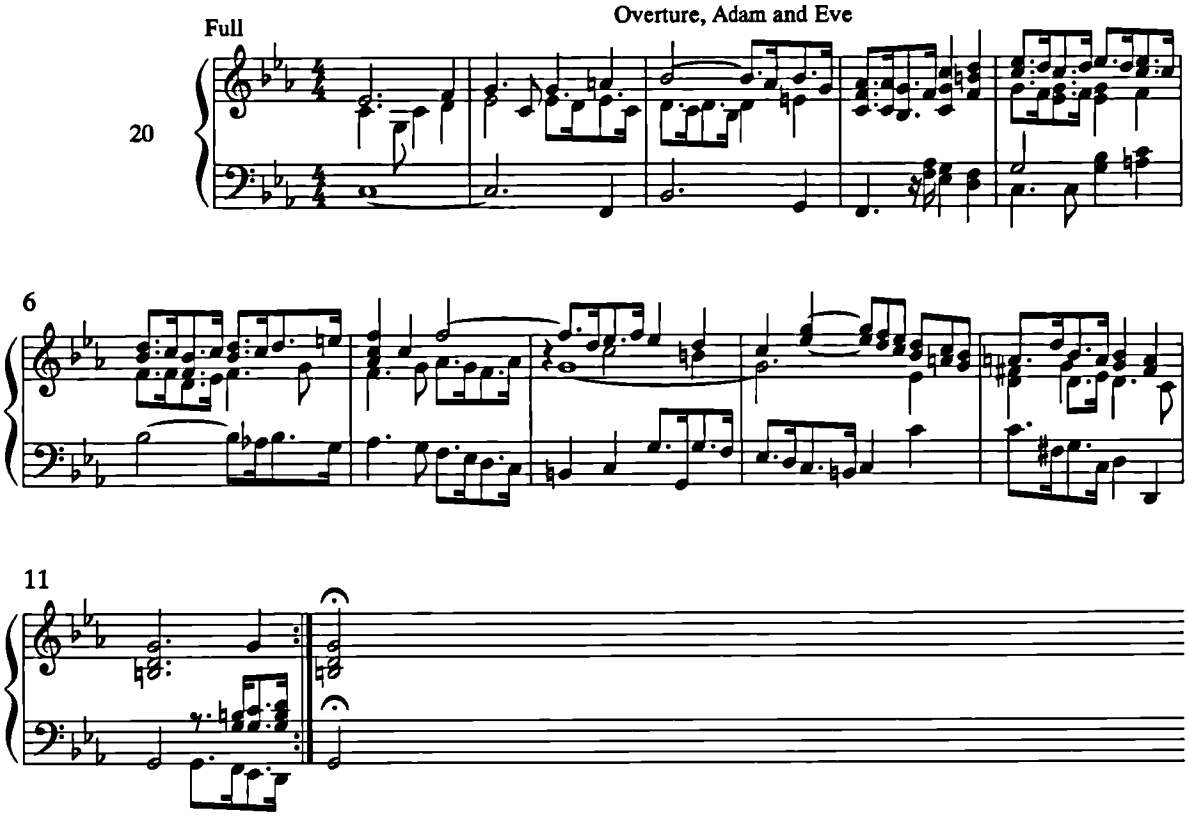
19
Fugue in C major

[f54r]




36
41
46
51
56
62
Soli
67
Tutti
Soli


73
[f55r]
Tutti
77
82
88
p
94
Ado.
101
107
Ado.
Aug 30: 1773
Dorset Court


Full
20
6
11

Editorial Note

Benjamin Cooke, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in G major (1779)

This service is preserved in Lcm MSS 814 and 827. These comprise a set of instrumental and vocal parts and an organ part, as described below. They are not autograph, but are in a hand contemporary with surviving Cooke autograph scores. The service is scored for treble, alto, tenor and bass choir with oboe, violin 1,2, viola [called tenor violin], cello, contra bass and bass. No instrument is specified for the Bass part, which could be played by a Bassoon. The choral parts are scored for treble, alto, tenor and bass.

The Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis is part of a larger G major service including a Te Deum and Jubilate, although instrumental parts only survive for the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis. The organ part to the morning service is in Lcm MS 814, and is similar in style and layout to that in the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis.

There are two major differences between these sources. The first is the amount of detail given in the figuring and upper stave of the organ accompaniment (see below). Secondly, the instrumental parts are written with a crochet beat, and the vocal part a minim one. For this edition these have been regularised to a crochet beat. Therefore all the note values in the vocal parts have been halved.

The following edition follows the vocal and instrumental parts, including the original text underlay, with the exception of the figuring in the organ part which is from Lcm MS 814.

The clefs of the vocal Alto part have been changed from C3 and of the Tenor part from C4.

Description of the Manuscripts

Lcm MS 814

f. 104-109v , Organ Part to Benjamin Cooke Te Deum, Jubilate, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in G

Lcm MS 814 is a bound volume from 'Dr Cooke's Collection' and contains both sacred and secular vocal works. The music is written on two staves with figured bass.

f. 108r.-109r., Magnificat
f. 109r.-109v., Nunc Dimittis

Lcm MS 827

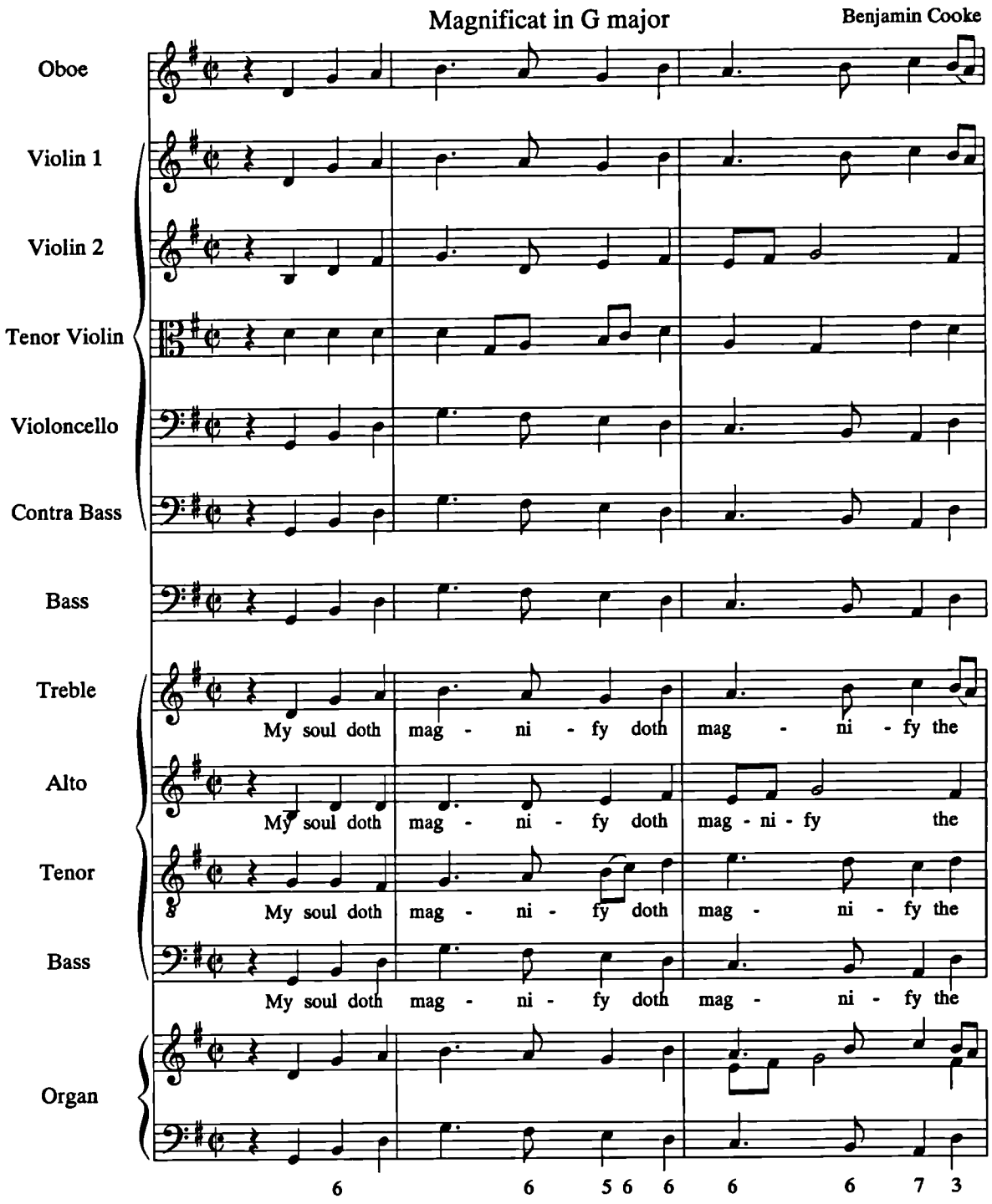
Benjamin Cooke, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in G, Vocal and Instrumental Parts

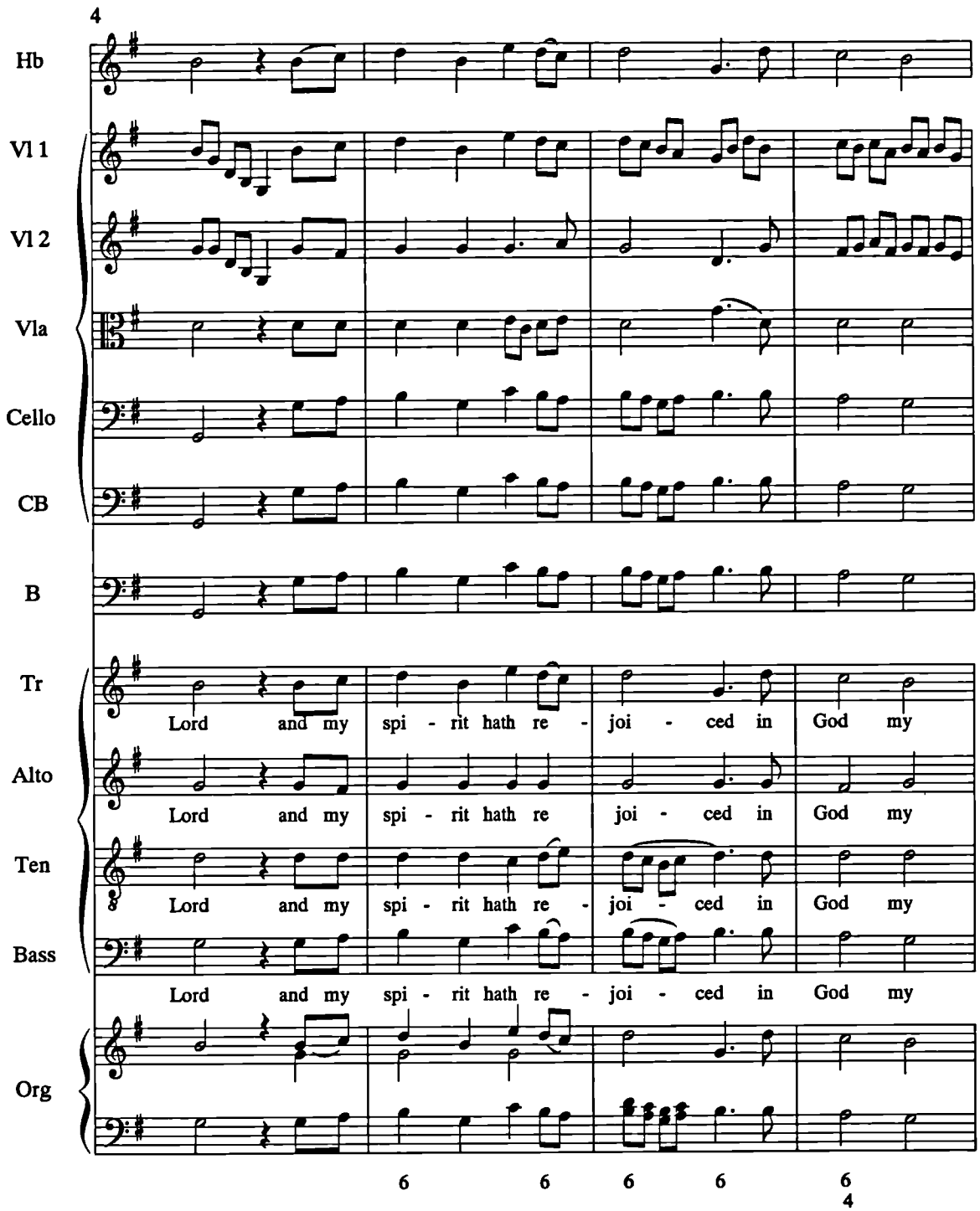
This set of vocal and instrumental parts is unbound and assembled in a brown paper wrapper.

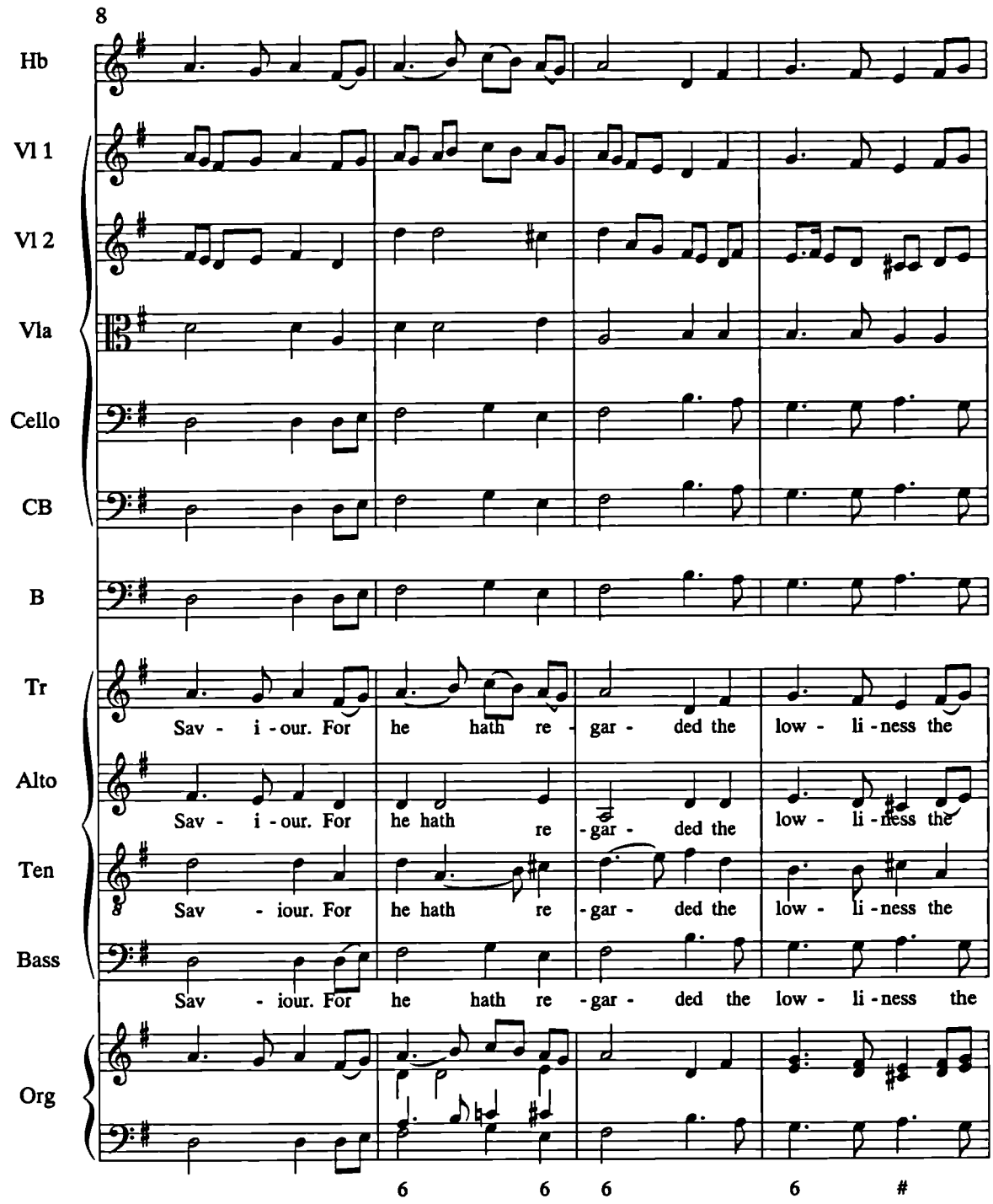
f. 1,2	incomplete TrATB score, Magnificat, bar 54-end.
f. 3, 4	Organ part
f. 6	Oboe
f. 7	Violin 1
f. 8	Violin 2
f. 9	Violoncello
f. 10	Violin 1
f. 11	Violin 2
f. 12	Bass [instrumental]
f. 13	Contra Bass

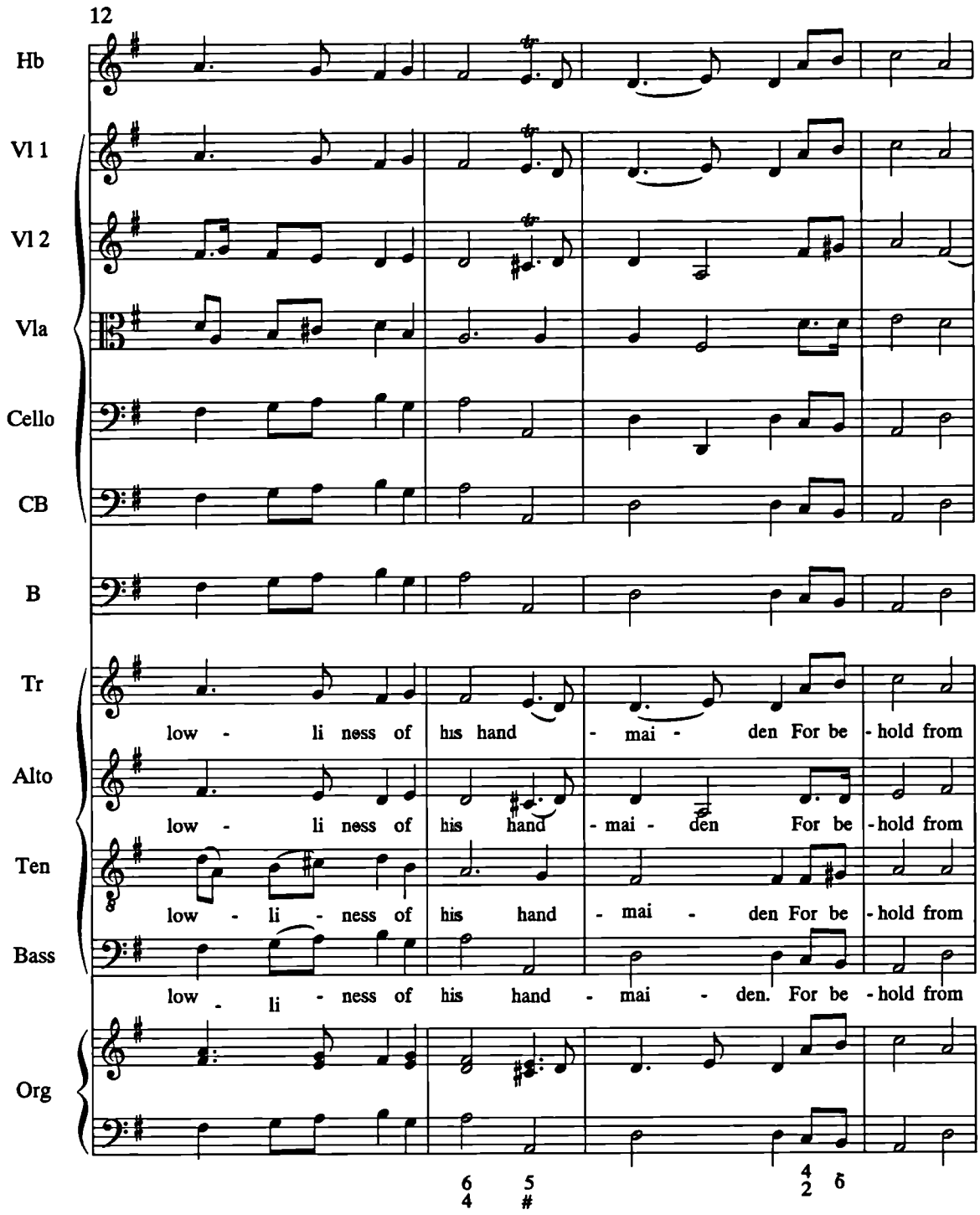
f. 14	Contra Bass
f. 15	Violoncello
f. 16	Tenor Viola
f. 18, 19	Treble
f. 21,22	Treble
f. 24, 25	Alto
f. 27, 28	Alto
f. 30, 31	Tenor
f. 33, 34	Tenor ['Hooks' written on front of part]
f. 36, 37	Bass [vocal]
f. 39, 40	Bass [vocal]

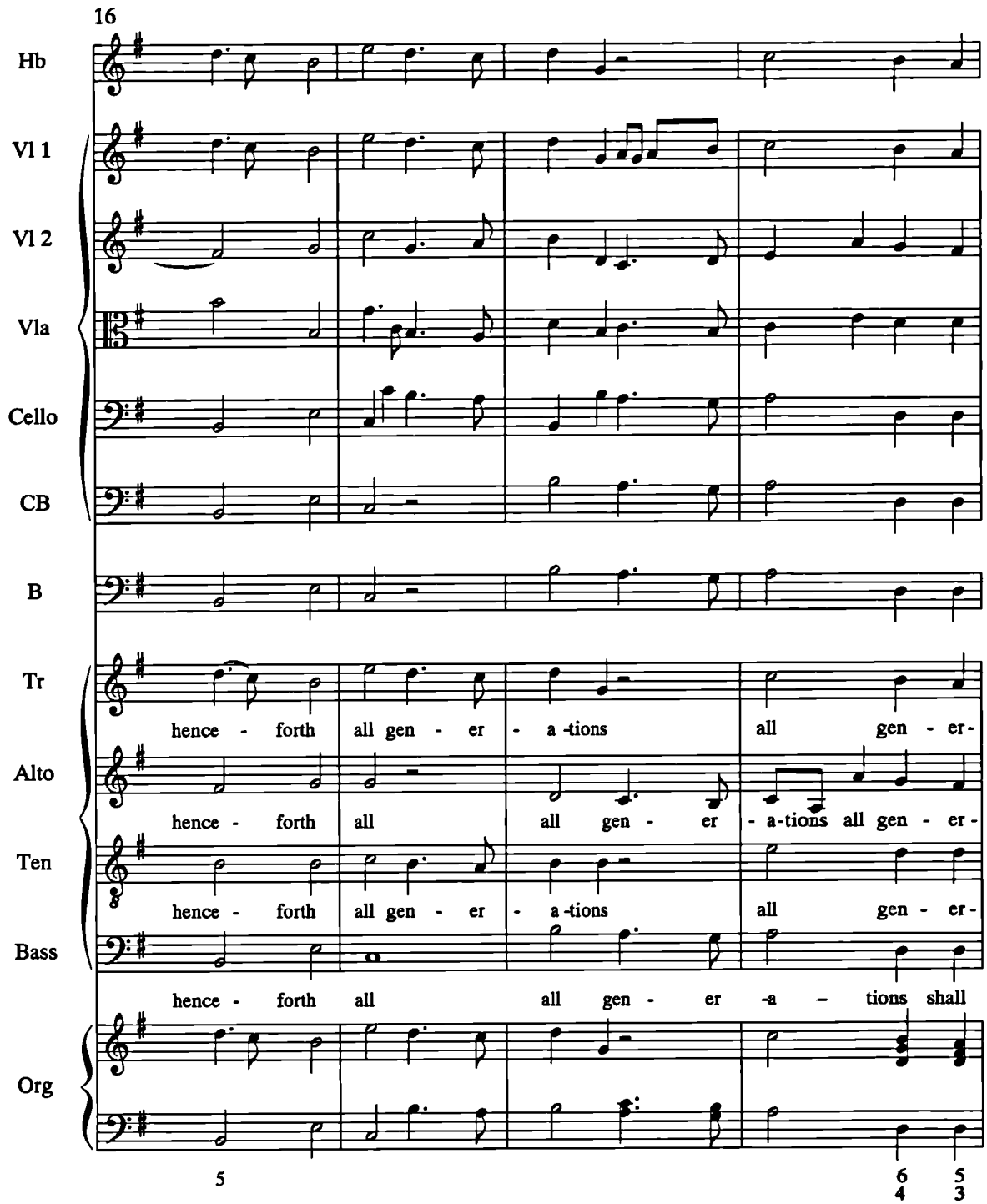
(missing folio numbers are paper covers around parts)

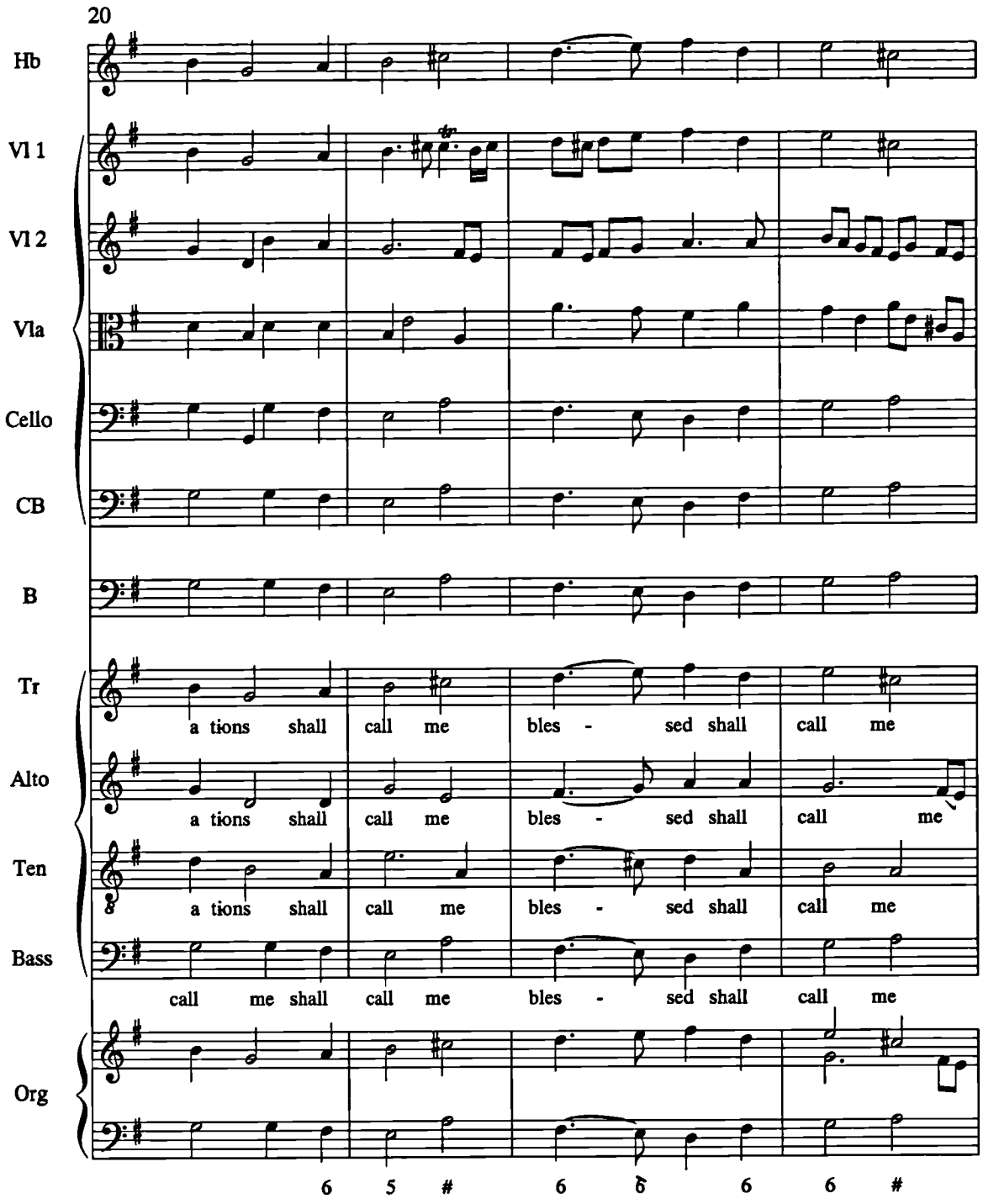

Magnificat in G major
Benjamin Cooke
Oboe
Violin 1
Violin 2
Tenor Violin
Violoncello
Contra Bass
Bass
Treble
Alto
Tenor
Bass
Organ
My soul doth mag - ni - fy doth mag - ni - fy the
My soul doth mag - ni - fy doth mag - ni - fy the
My soul doth mag - ni - fy doth mag - ni - fy the
My soul doth mag - ni - fy doth mag - ni - fy the
6 6 5 6 6 6 6 7 3

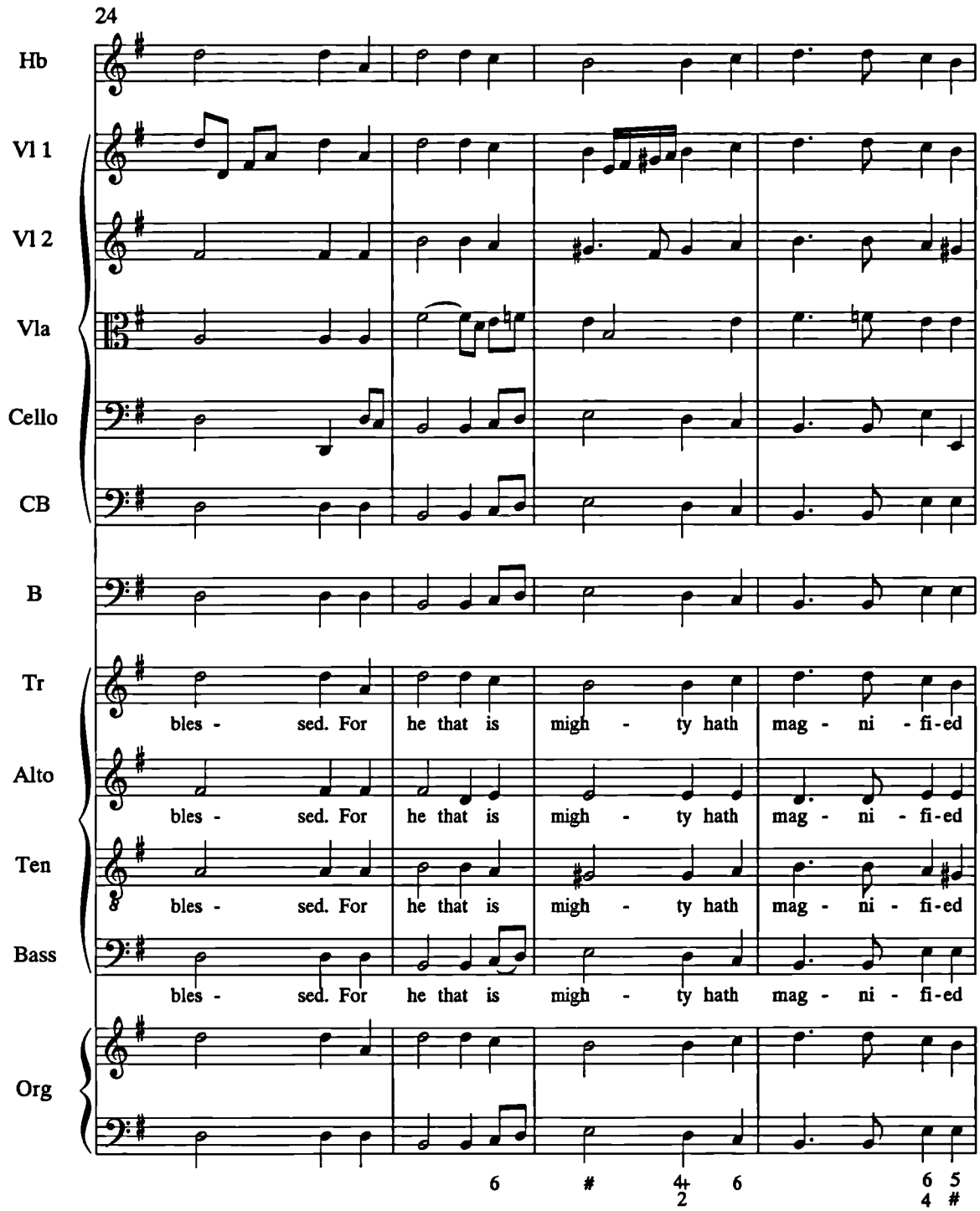

4
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
Lord and my spi - rit hath re - joi - ced in God my
Lord and my spi - rit hath re joi - ced in God my
Lord and my spi - rit hath re - joi - ced in God my
Lord and my spi - rit hath re - joi - ced in God my
6 6 6 6 6 4

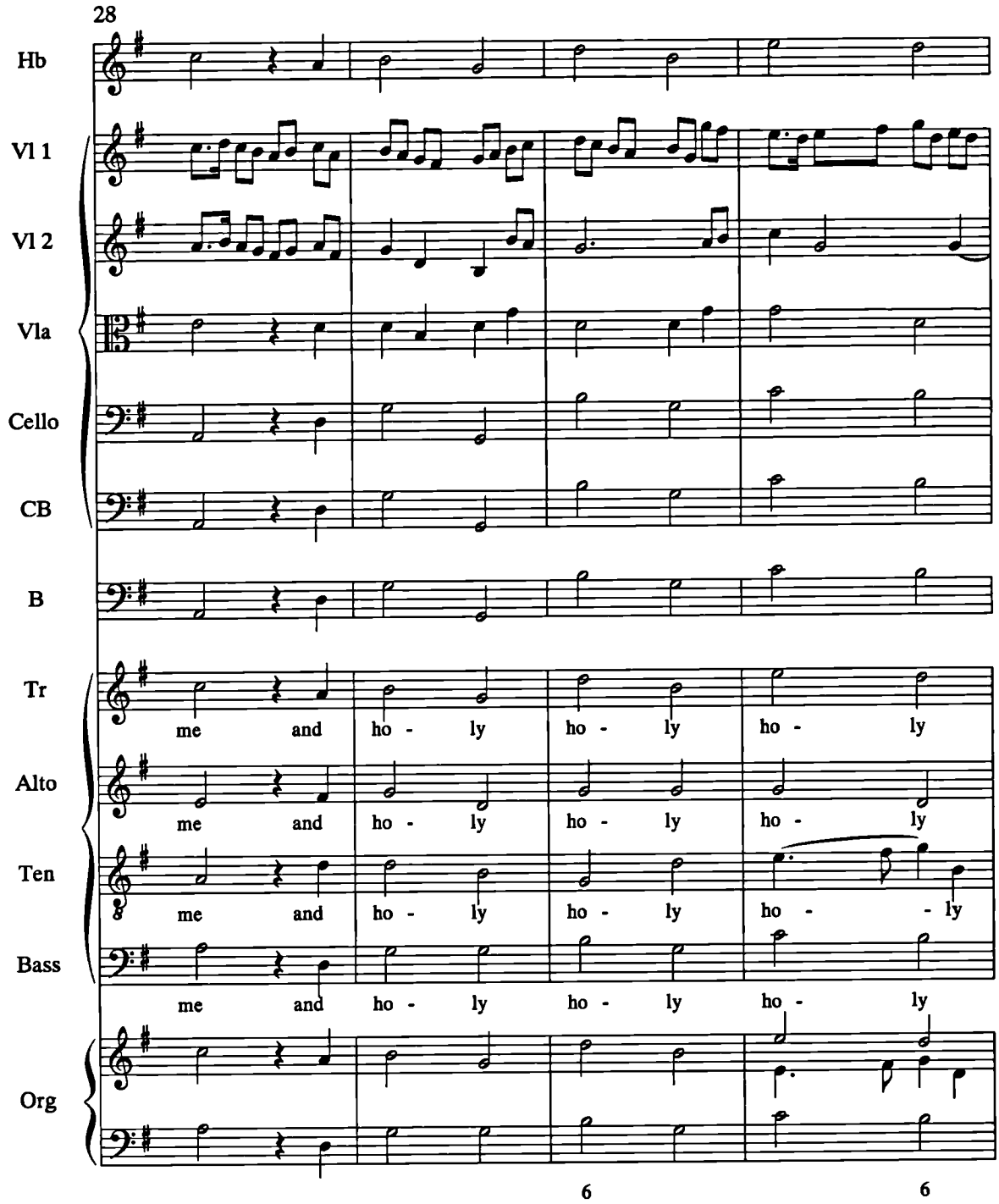

8
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
Sav - i - our. For he hath re - gar - ded the low - li - ness the
Sav - i - our. For he hath re - gar - ded the low - li - ness the
Sav - iour. For he hath re - gar - ded the low - li - ness the
Sav - iour. For he hath re - gar - ded the low - li - ness the
6 6 6 6 #

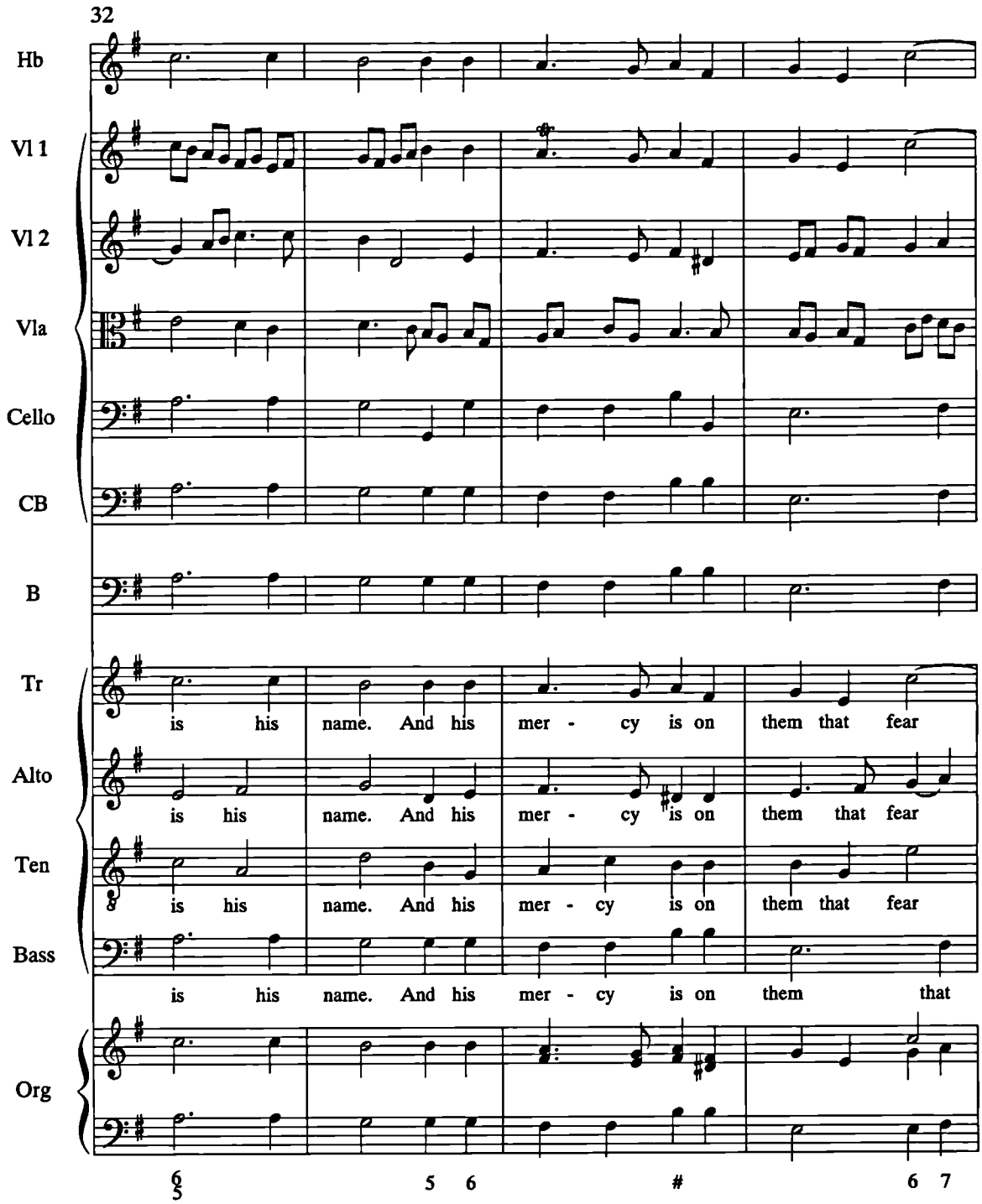

12
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
low - li ness of his hand - mai - den For be - hold from
low - li ness of his hand - mai - den For be - hold from
low - li - ness of his hand - mai - den For be - hold from
low - li - ness of his hand - mai - den. For be - hold from

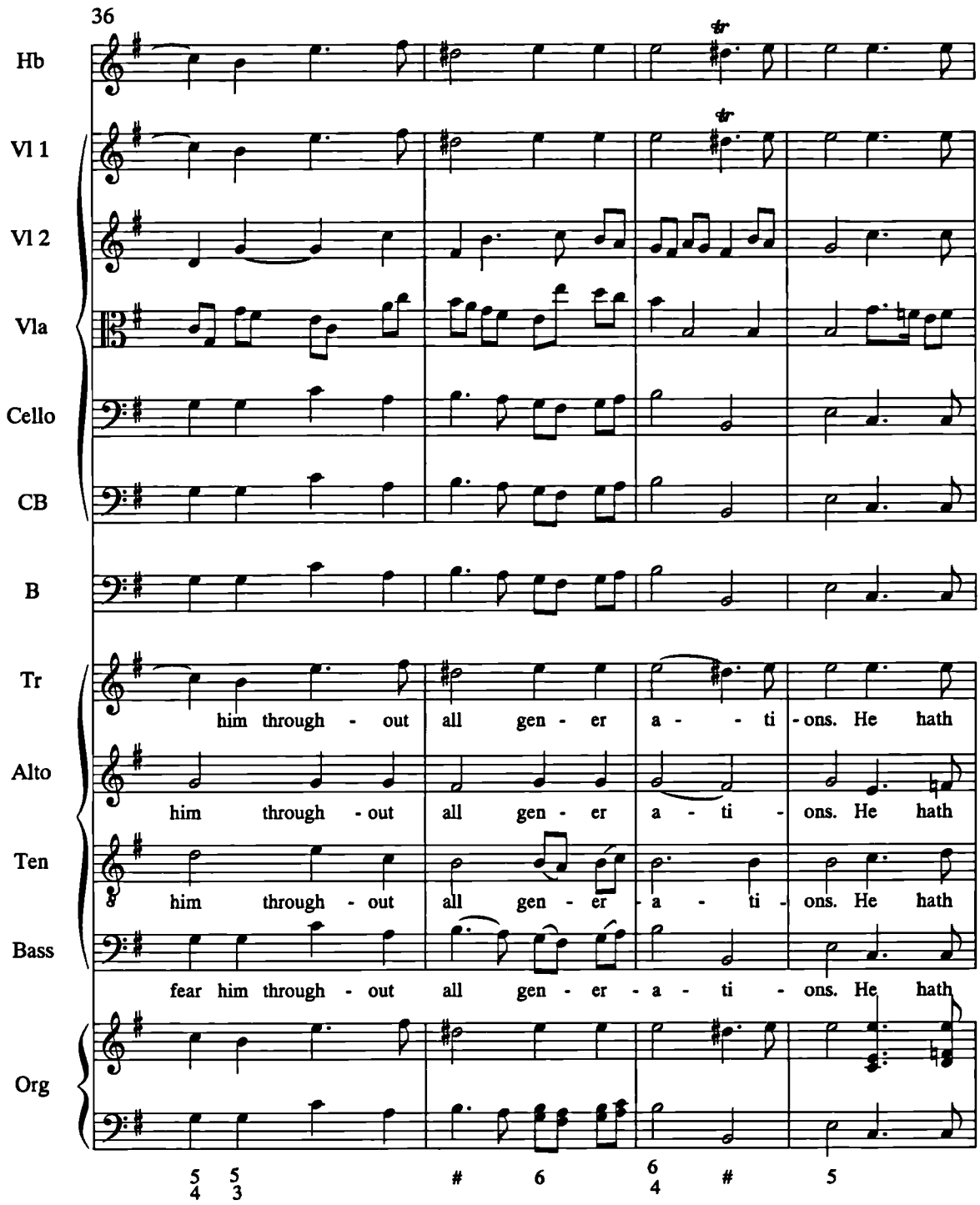

16
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
hence - forth all gen - er - a -tions all gen - er-
hence - forth all all gen - er - a-tions all gen - er-
hence - forth all gen - er - a -tions all gen - er-
hence - forth all all gen - er -a - tions shall
5
6 5
4 3

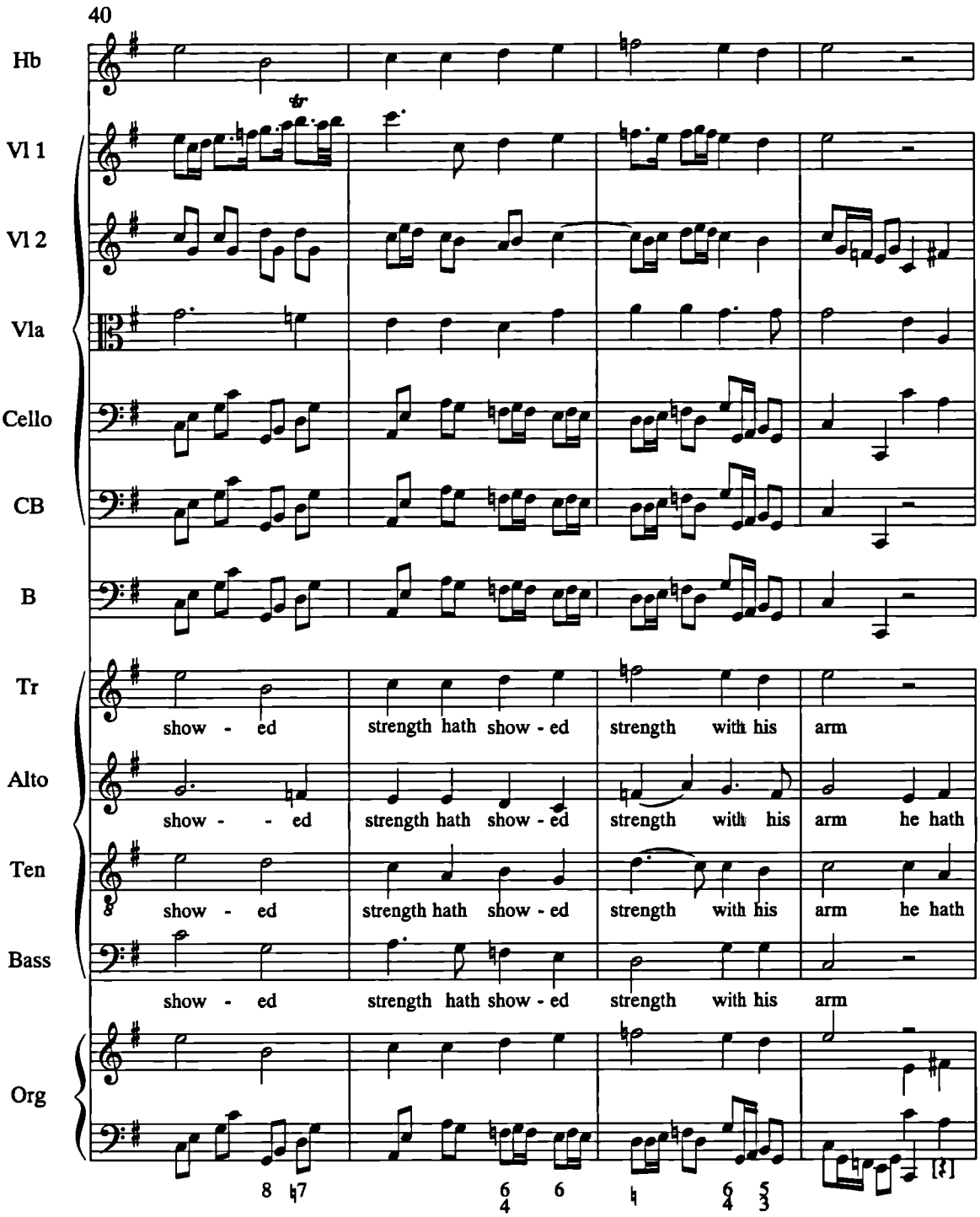

20
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
a tions shall call me bles - sed shall call me
a tions shall call me bles - sed shall call me
a tions shall call me bles - sed shall call me
call me shall call me bles - sed shall call me
6 5 # 6 6 6 6 #

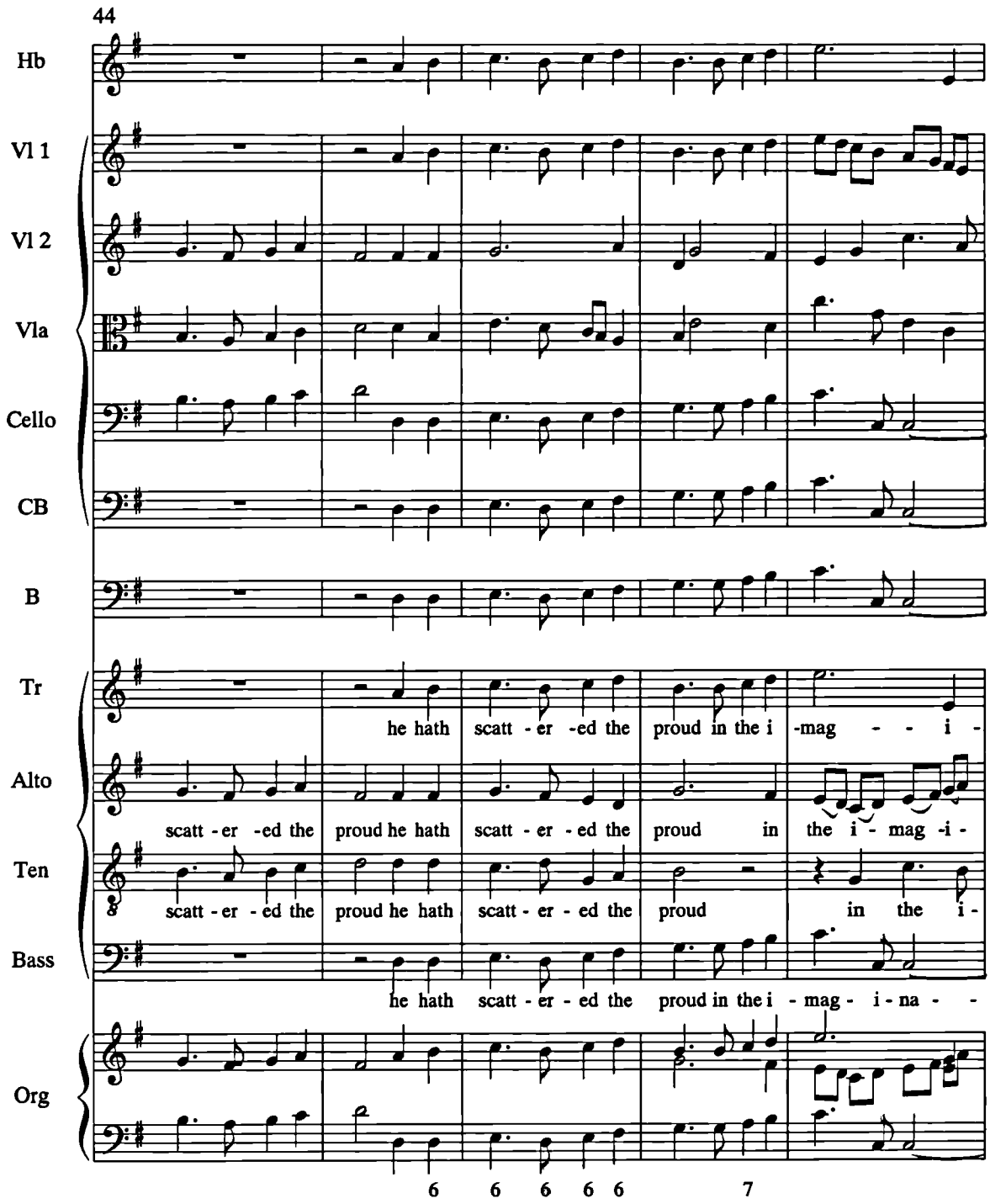

24
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
bles - sed. For he that is migh - ty hath mag - ni - fi-ed
bles - sed. For he that is migh - ty hath mag - ni - fi-ed
bles - sed. For he that is migh - ty hath mag - ni - fi-ed
bles - sed. For he that is migh - ty hath mag - ni - fi-ed

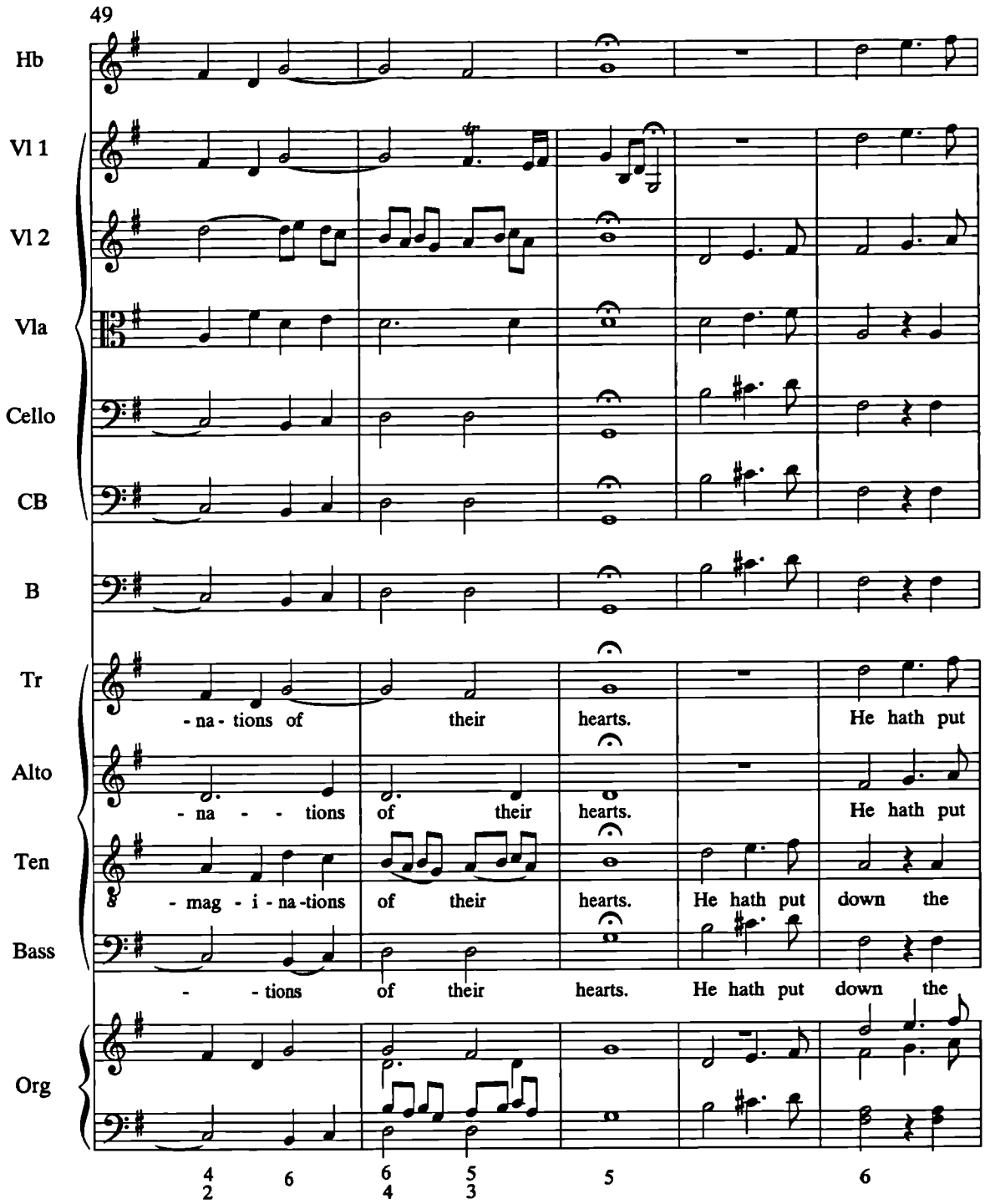

28
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
me and ho - ly ho - ly ho - ly
me and ho - ly ho - ly ho - ly
me and ho - ly ho - ly ho - - ly
me and ho - ly ho - ly ho - ly
6
6

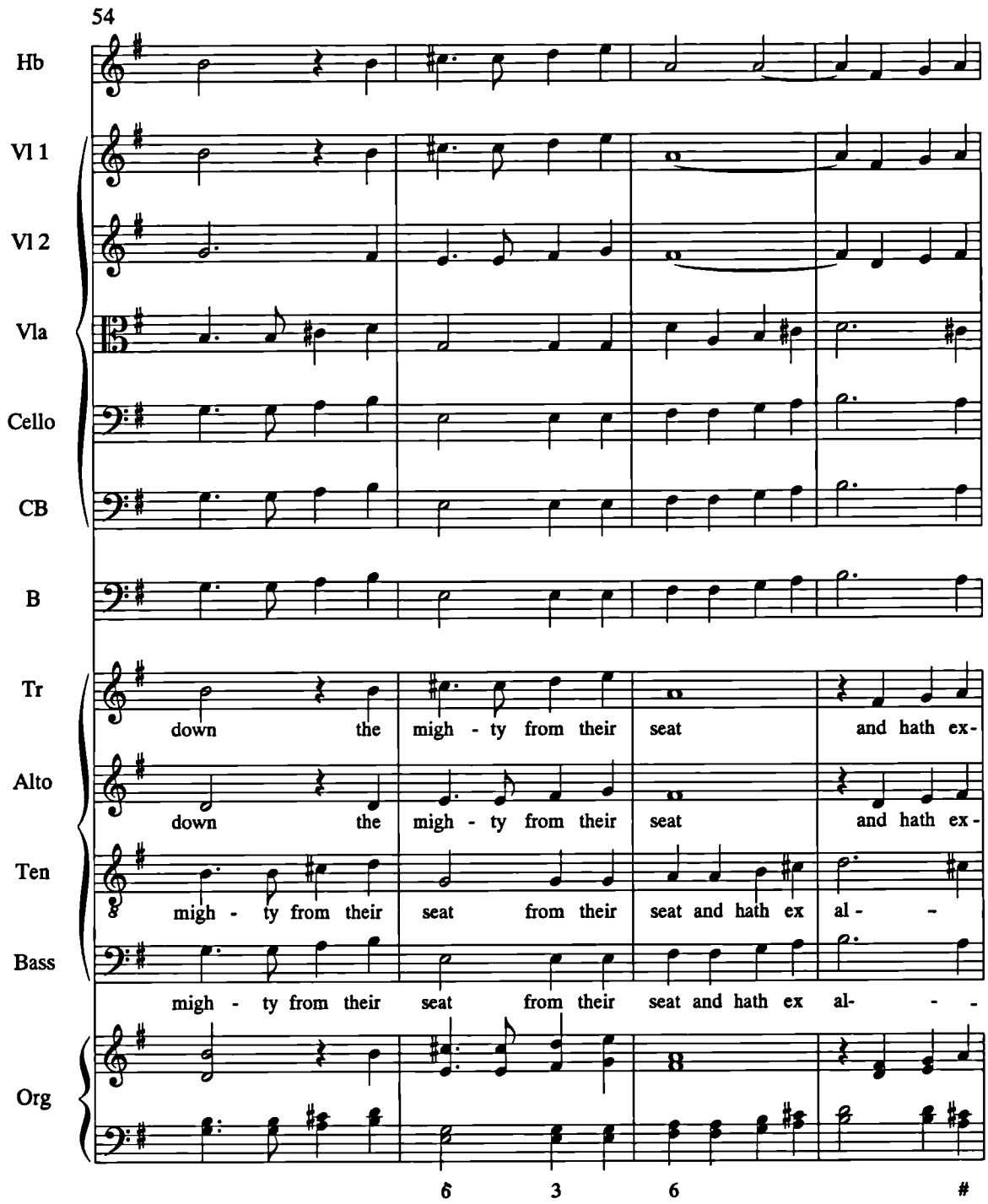

32
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
is his name. And his mer - cy is on them that fear
is his name. And his mer - cy is on them that fear
is his name. And his mer - cy is on them that fear
is his name. And his mer - cy is on them that
6/5 5 6 # 6 7

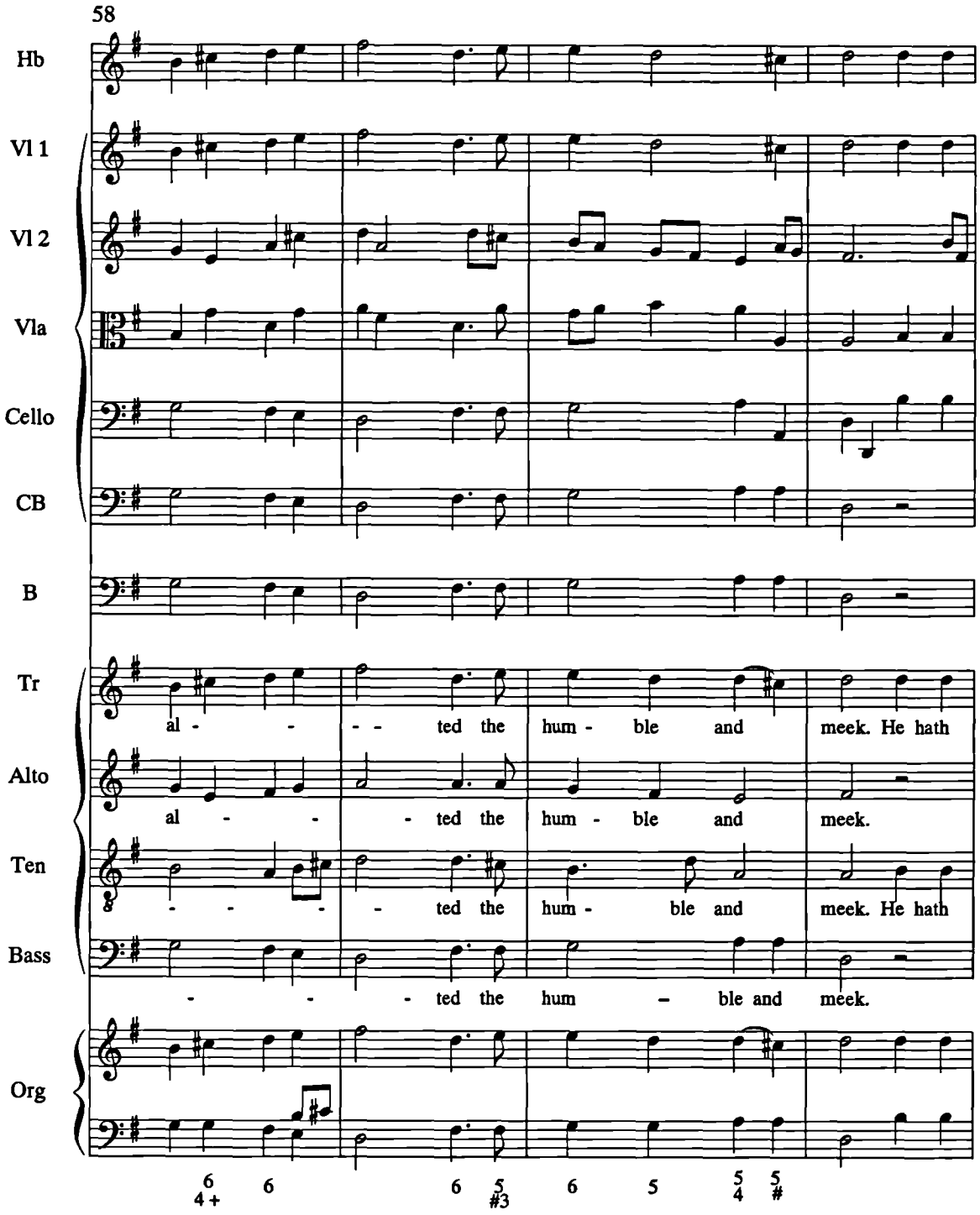

36
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
him through - out all gen - er a - - ti - ons. He hath
Alto
him through - out all gen - er a - ti - ons. He hath
Ten
him through - out all gen - er - a - ti - ons. He hath
Bass
fear him through - out all gen - er - a - ti - ons. He hath
Org

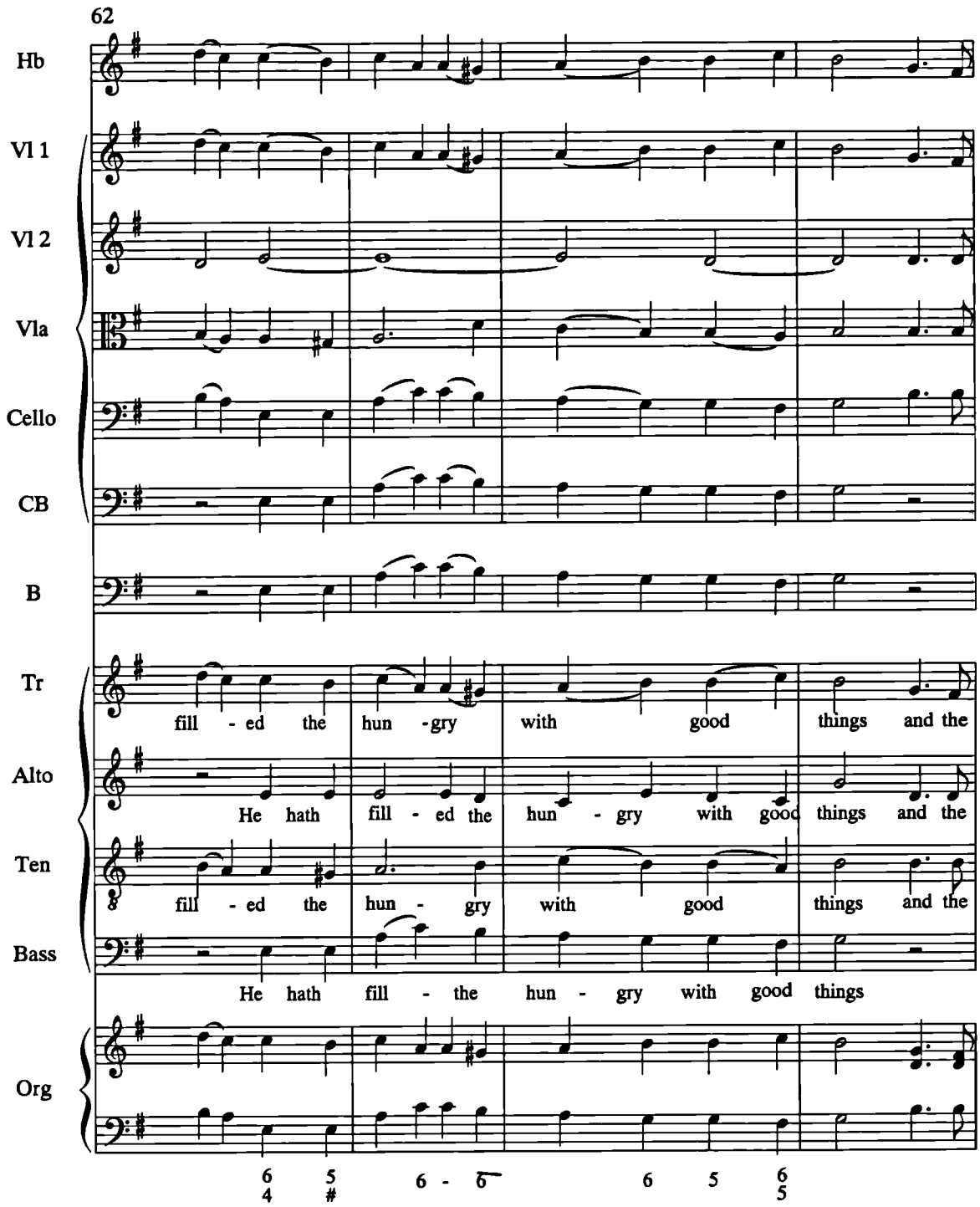

40
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
show - ed strength hath show - ed strength with his arm
show - - ed strength hath show - ed strength with his arm he hath
show - ed strength hath show - ed strength with his arm he hath
show - ed strength hath show - ed strength with his arm

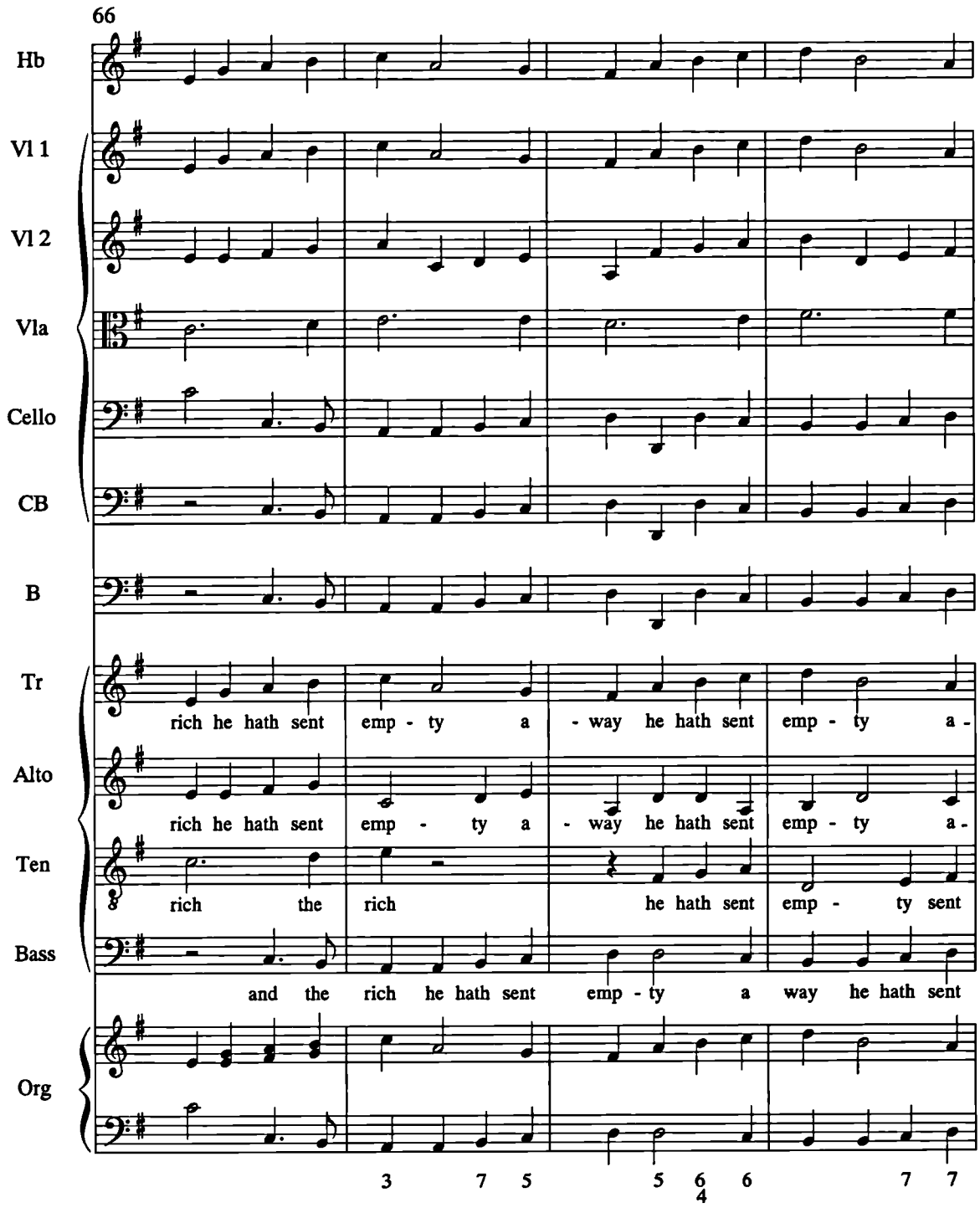

44
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
he hath scatt - er -ed the proud in the i -mag - - i -
scatt - er -ed the proud he hath scatt - er - ed the proud in the i - mag -i -
scatt - er - ed the proud he hath scatt - er - ed the proud in the i -
he hath scatt - er - ed the proud in the i - mag - i - na - -
6 6 6 6 6 7

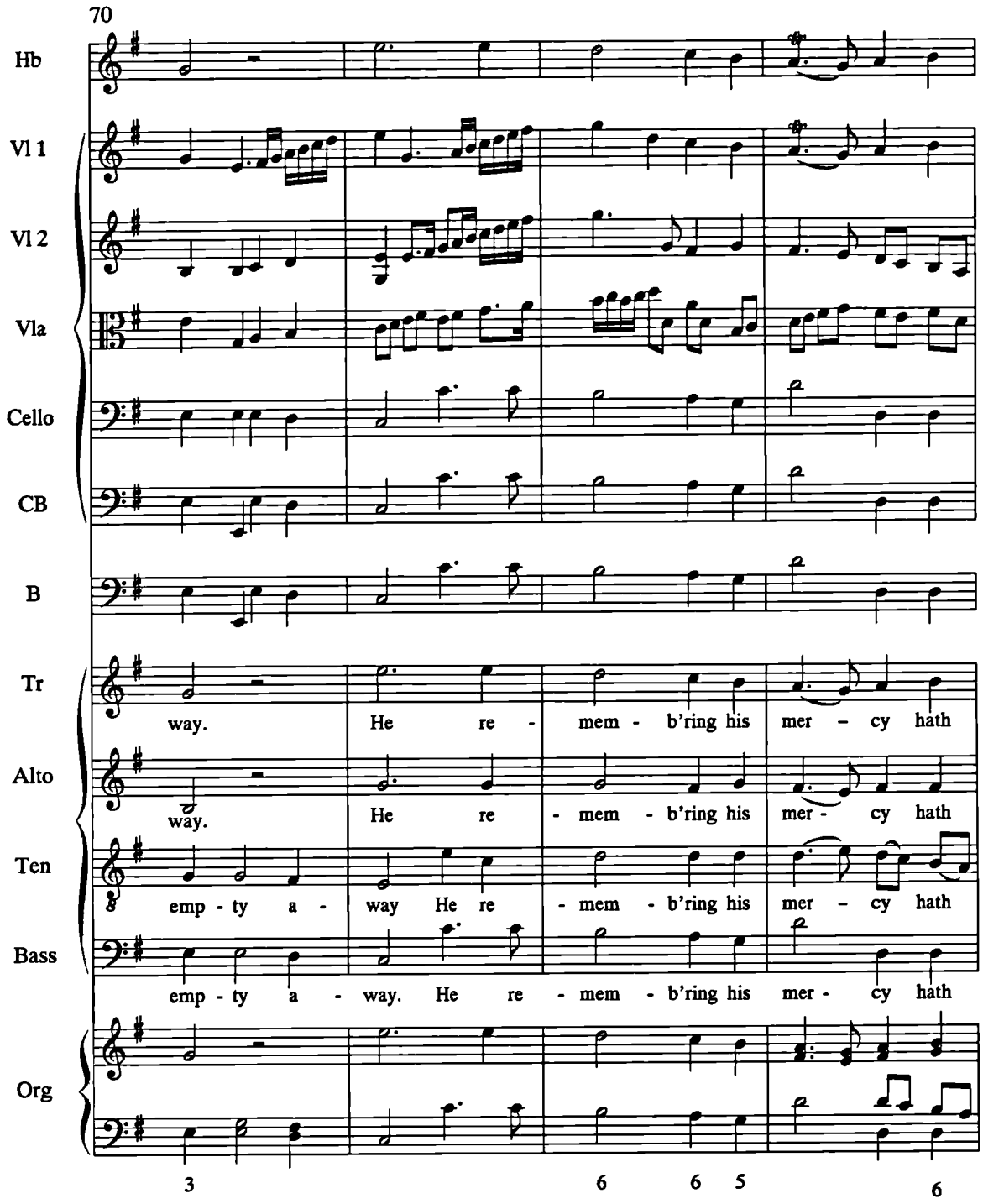

49
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
-na- tions of their hearts. He hath put
-na - - tions of their hearts. He hath put
-mag - i - na-tions of their hearts. He hath put down the
- - tions of their hearts. He hath put down the

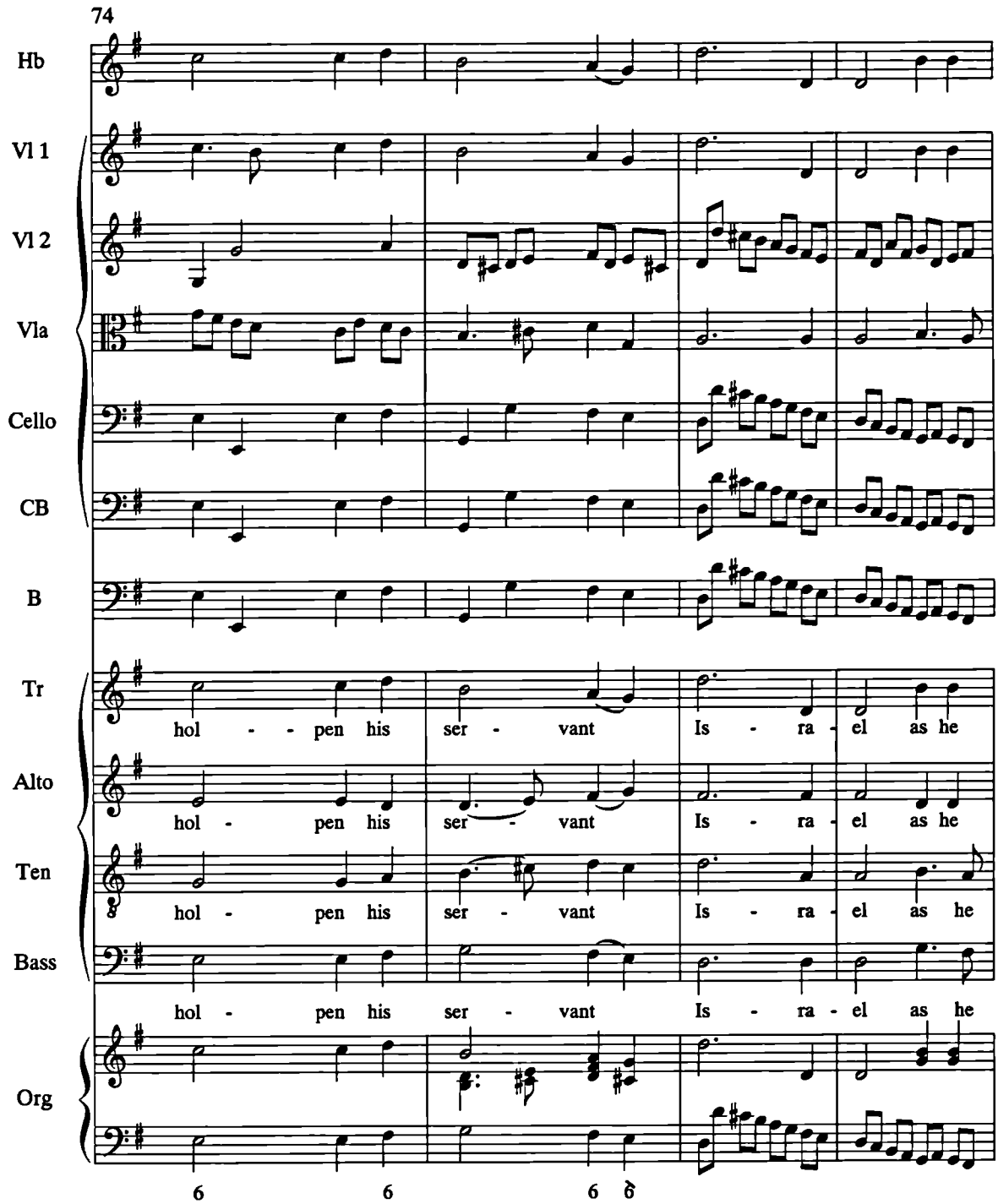

54
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
down the migh - ty from their seat and hath ex-
down the migh - ty from their seat and hath ex -
migh - ty from their seat from their seat and hath ex al - -
migh - ty from their seat from their seat and hath ex al- - -
6 3 6 #

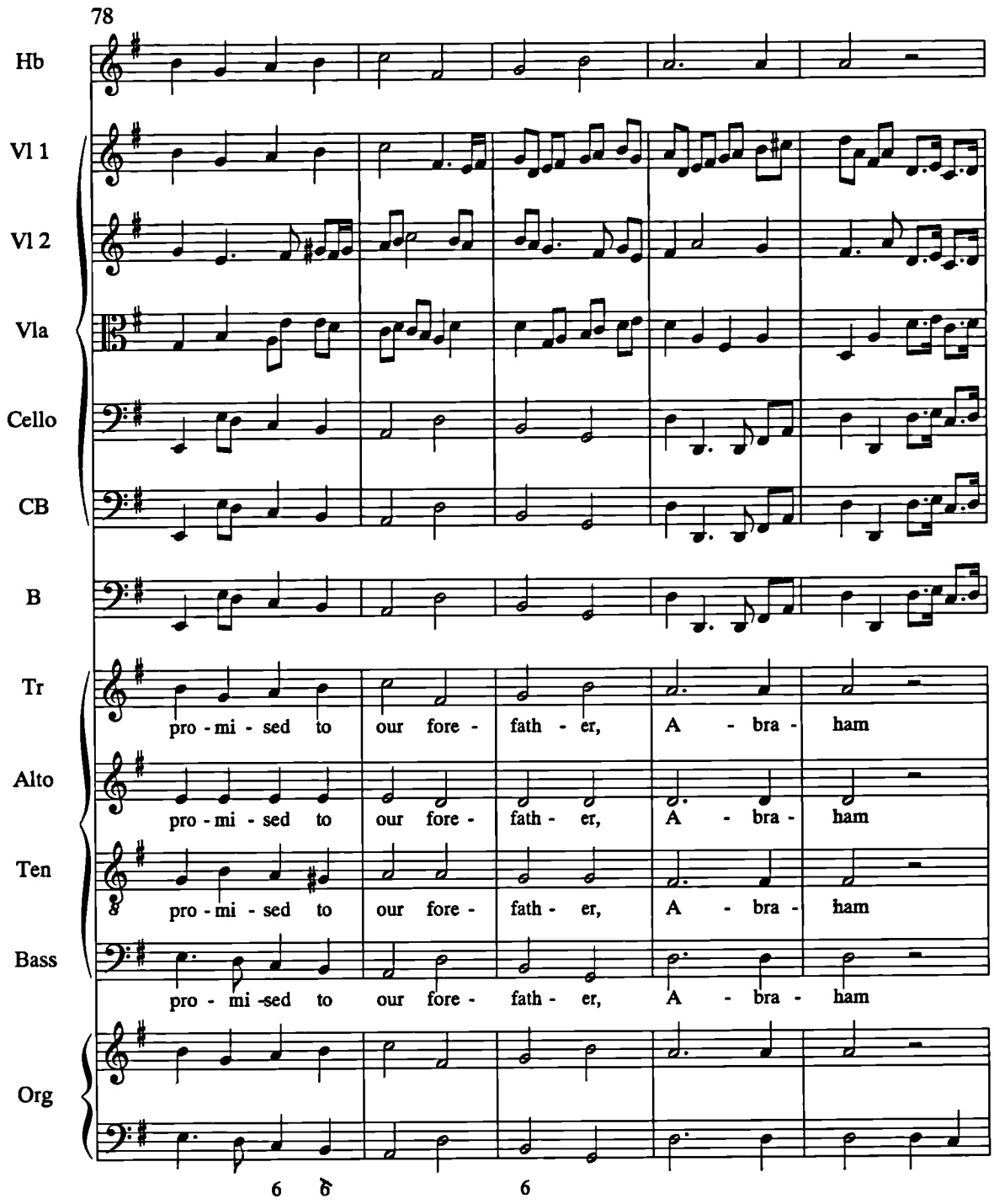

58
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
al - - - - ted the hum - ble and meek. He hath
al - - - - ted the hum - ble and meek.
- - - - ted the hum - ble and meek. He hath
- - - - ted the hum - ble and meek.
6 6 6 5 6 5 5 5
4 + #3 4 #

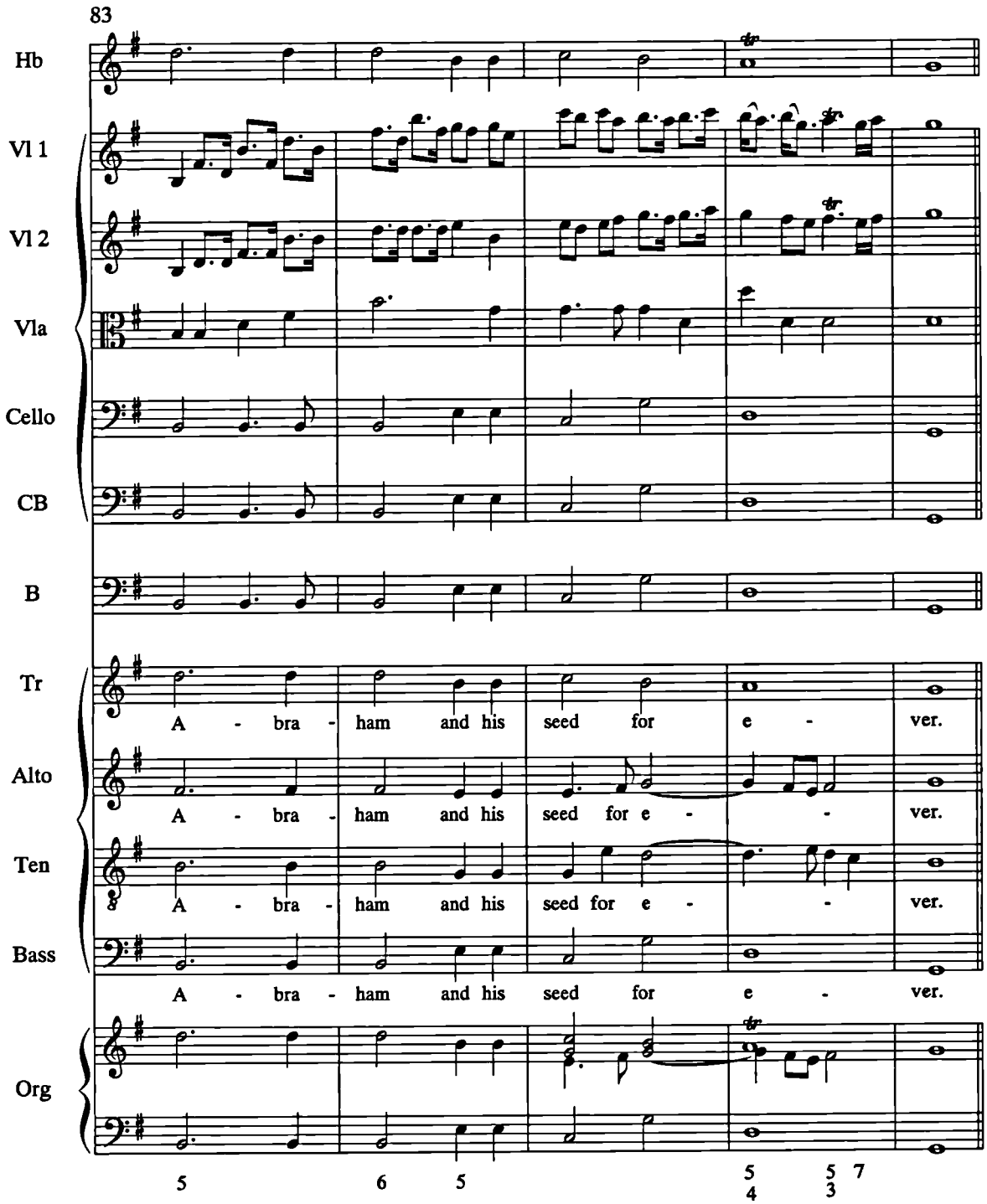

62
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
fill - ed the hun - gry with good things and the
He hath fill - ed the hun - gry with good things and the
fill - ed the hun - gry with good things and the
He hath fill - the hun - gry with good things
6 5 6 - 6 6 5 6
4 # 5

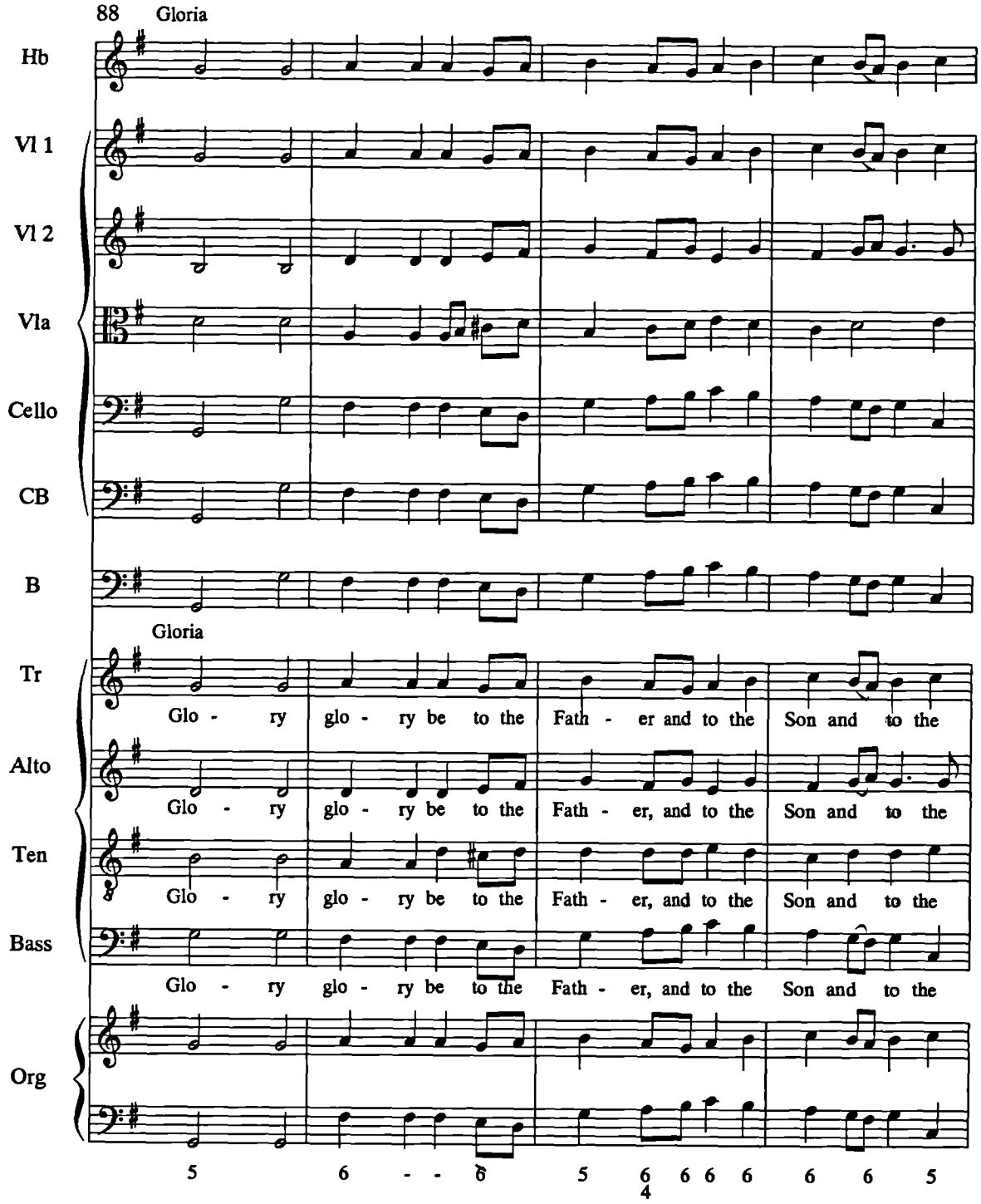

66
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
rich he hath sent emp - ty a - way he hath sent emp - ty a -
rich he hath sent emp - ty a - way he hath sent emp - ty a -
rich the rich he hath sent emp - ty sent
and the rich he hath sent emp - ty a way he hath sent
3 7 5 5 6/4 6 7 7

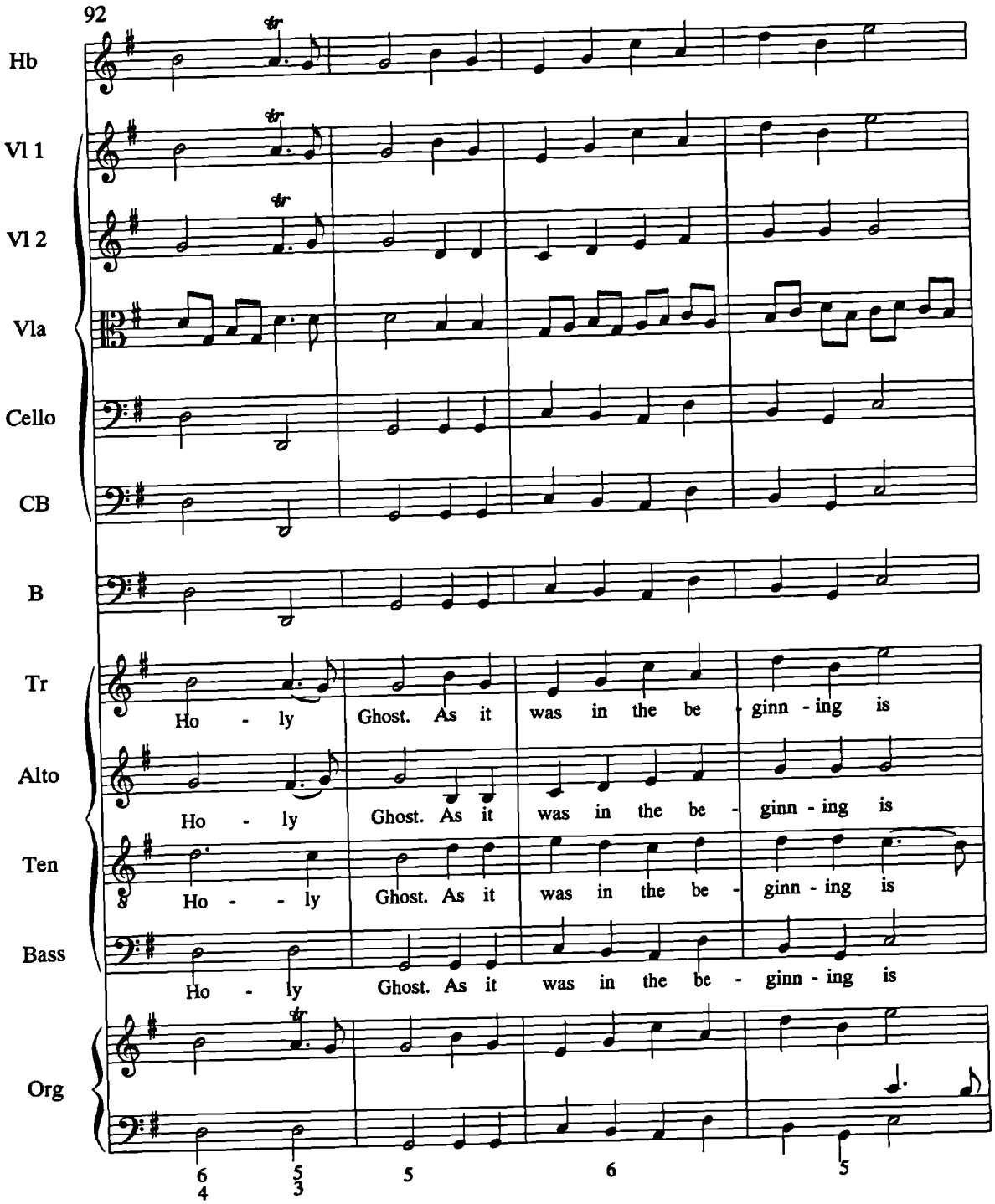

70
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
way. He re - mem - b'ring his mer - cy hath
way. He re - mem - b'ring his mer - cy hath
emp - ty a - way He re - mem - b'ring his mer - cy hath
emp - ty a - way. He re - mem - b'ring his mer - cy hath
3
6
6 5
6

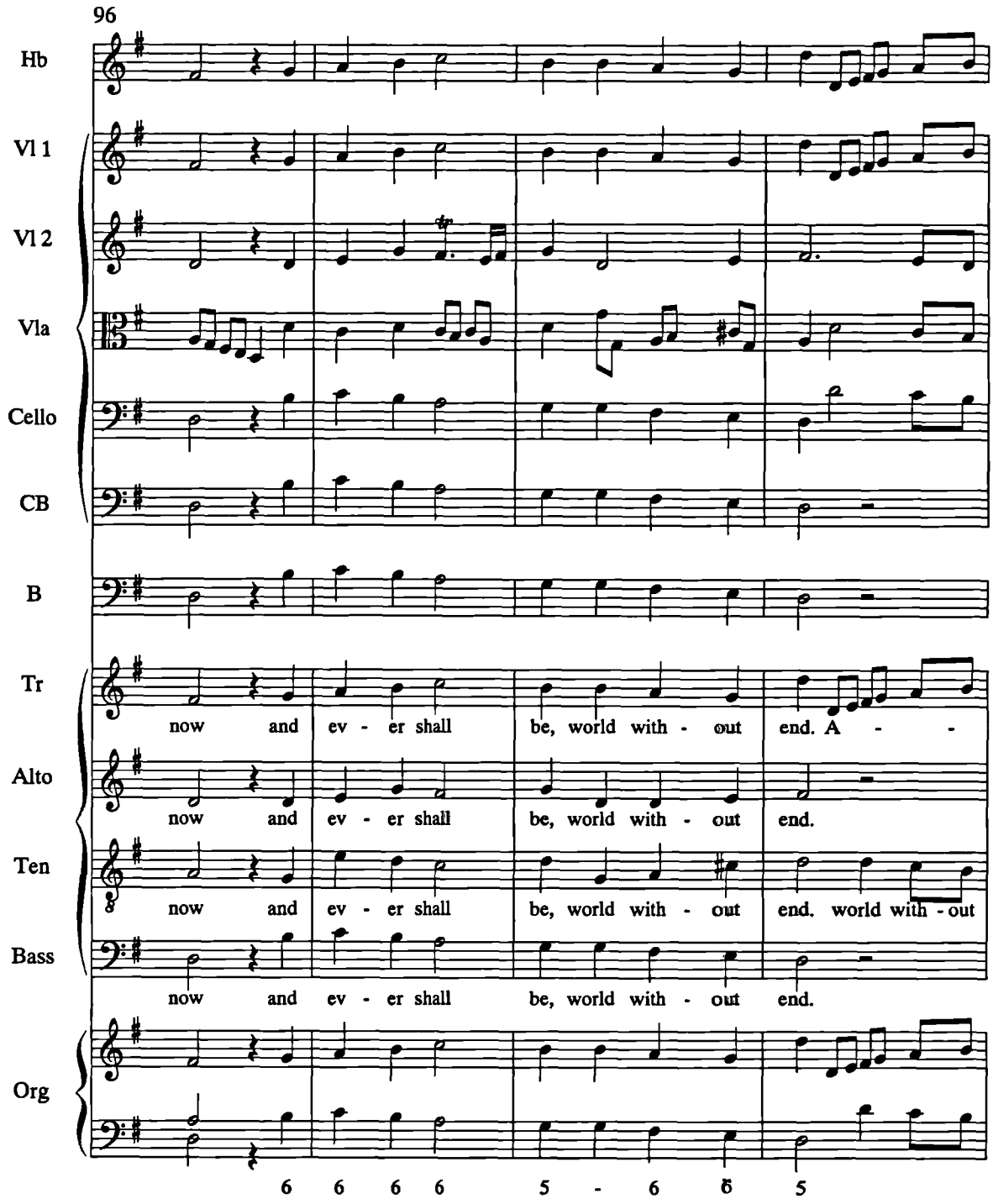

74
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
hol - - pen his ser - vant Is - ra - el as he
hol - pen his ser - vant Is - ra - el as he
hol - pen his ser - vant Is - ra - el as he
hol - pen his ser - vant Is - ra - el as he
6 6 6 6

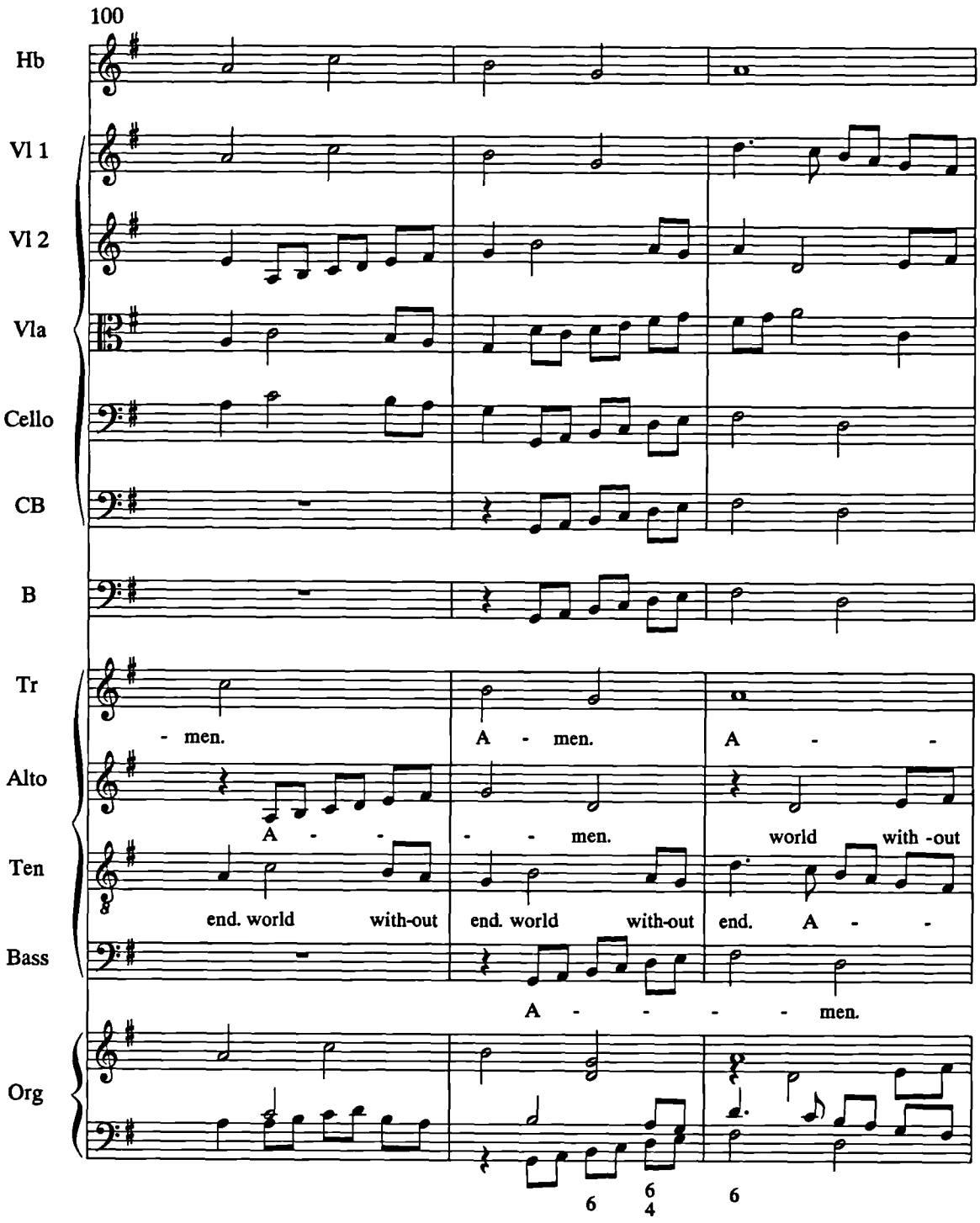

78
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
pro - mi - sed to our fore - fath - er, A - bra - ham
pro - mi - sed to our fore - fath - er, A - bra - ham
pro - mi - sed to our fore - fath - er, A - bra - ham
pro - mi - sed to our fore - fath - er, A - bra - ham
6 6 6

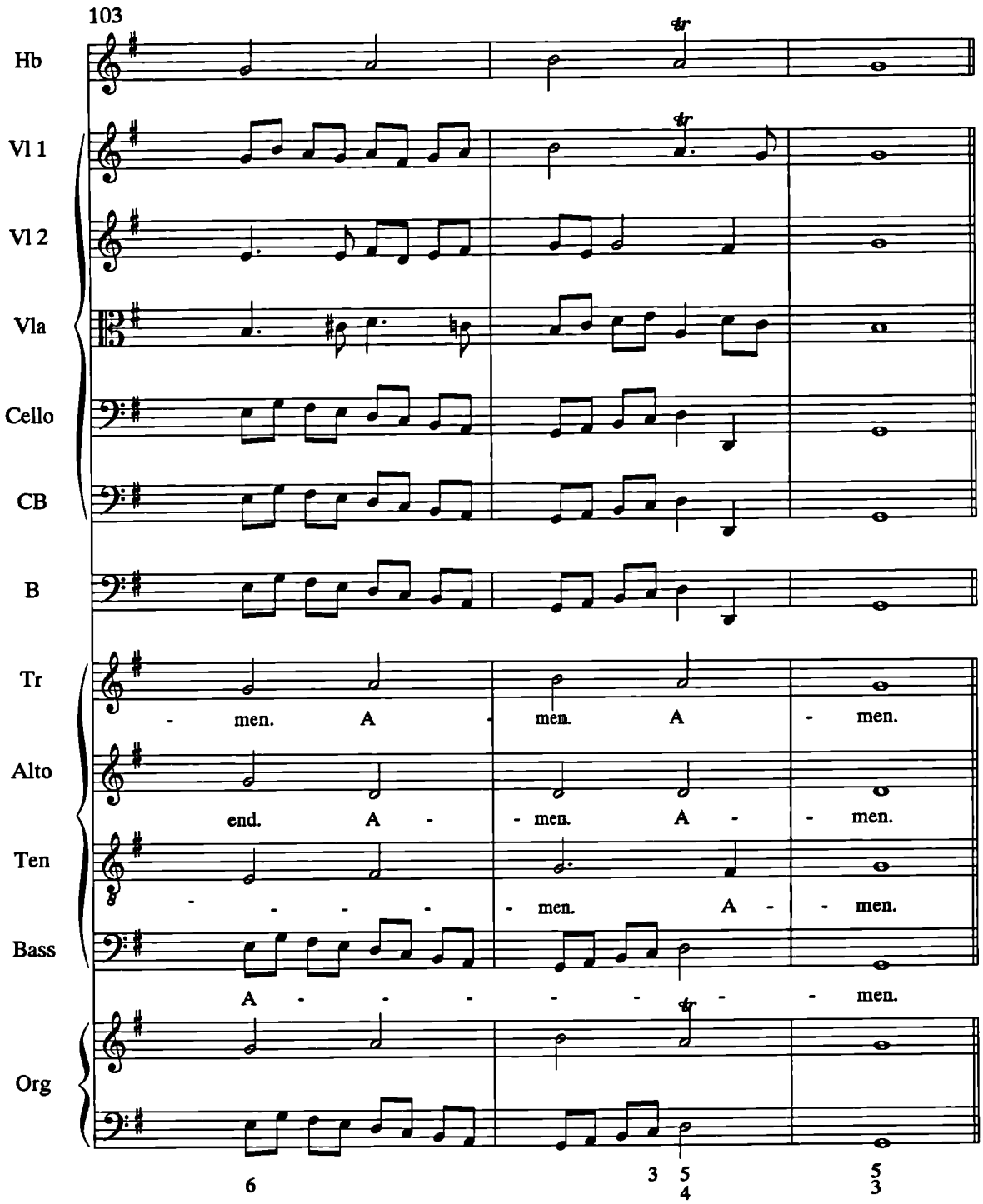

83
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
A - bra - ham and his seed for e - ver.
A - bra - ham and his seed for e - - ver.
A - bra - ham and his seed for e - - ver.
A - bra - ham and his seed for e - ver.
5
6
5
5
4
5
3
7

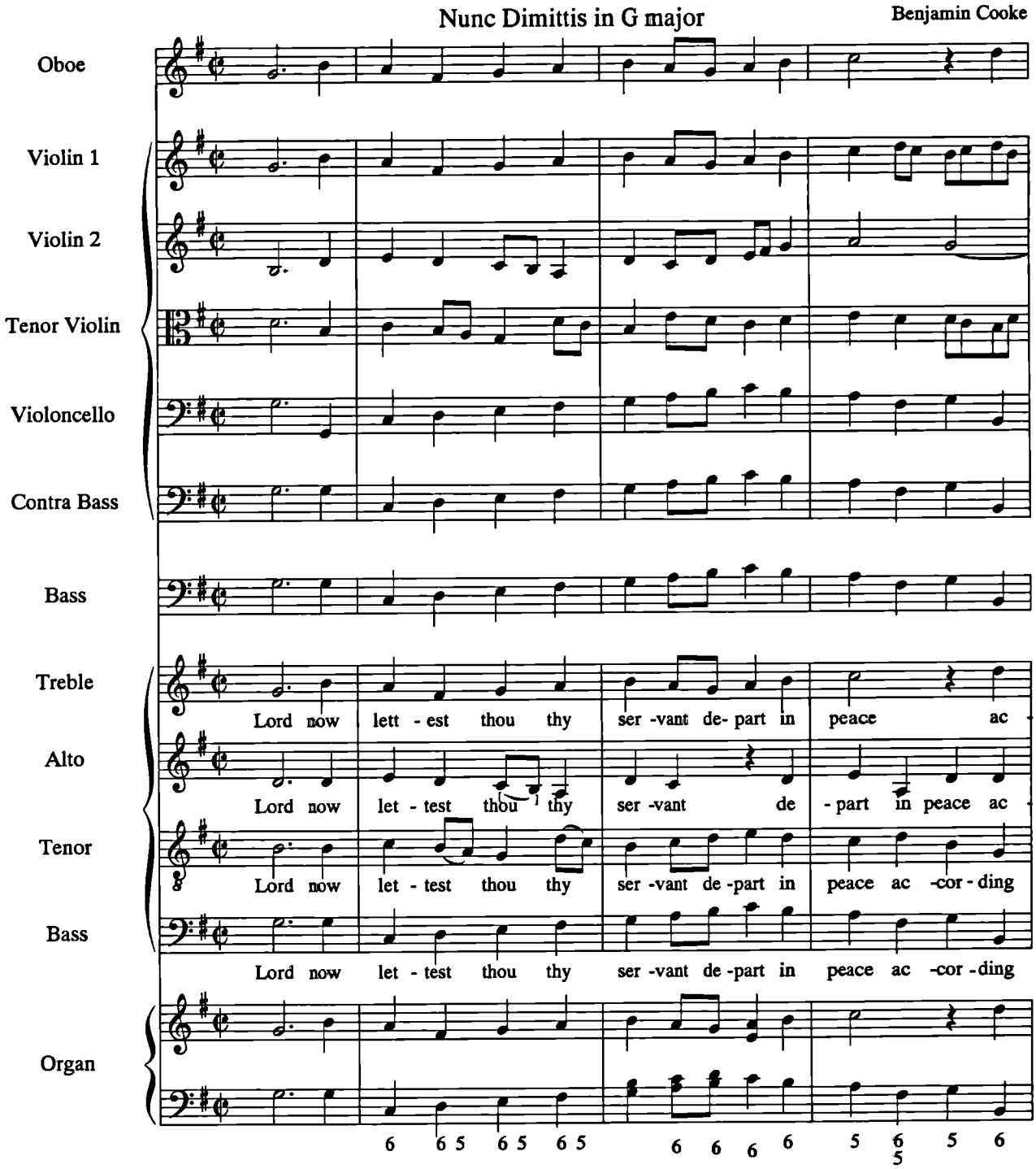

88 Gloria
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Gloria
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
Glo - ry glo - ry be to the Fath - er and to the Son and to the
Glo - ry glo - ry be to the Fath - er, and to the Son and to the
Glo - ry glo - ry be to the Fath - er, and to the Son and to the
Glo - ry glo - ry be to the Fath - er, and to the Son and to the
5 6 - - 6 5 6 6 6 6 6 6 5
4

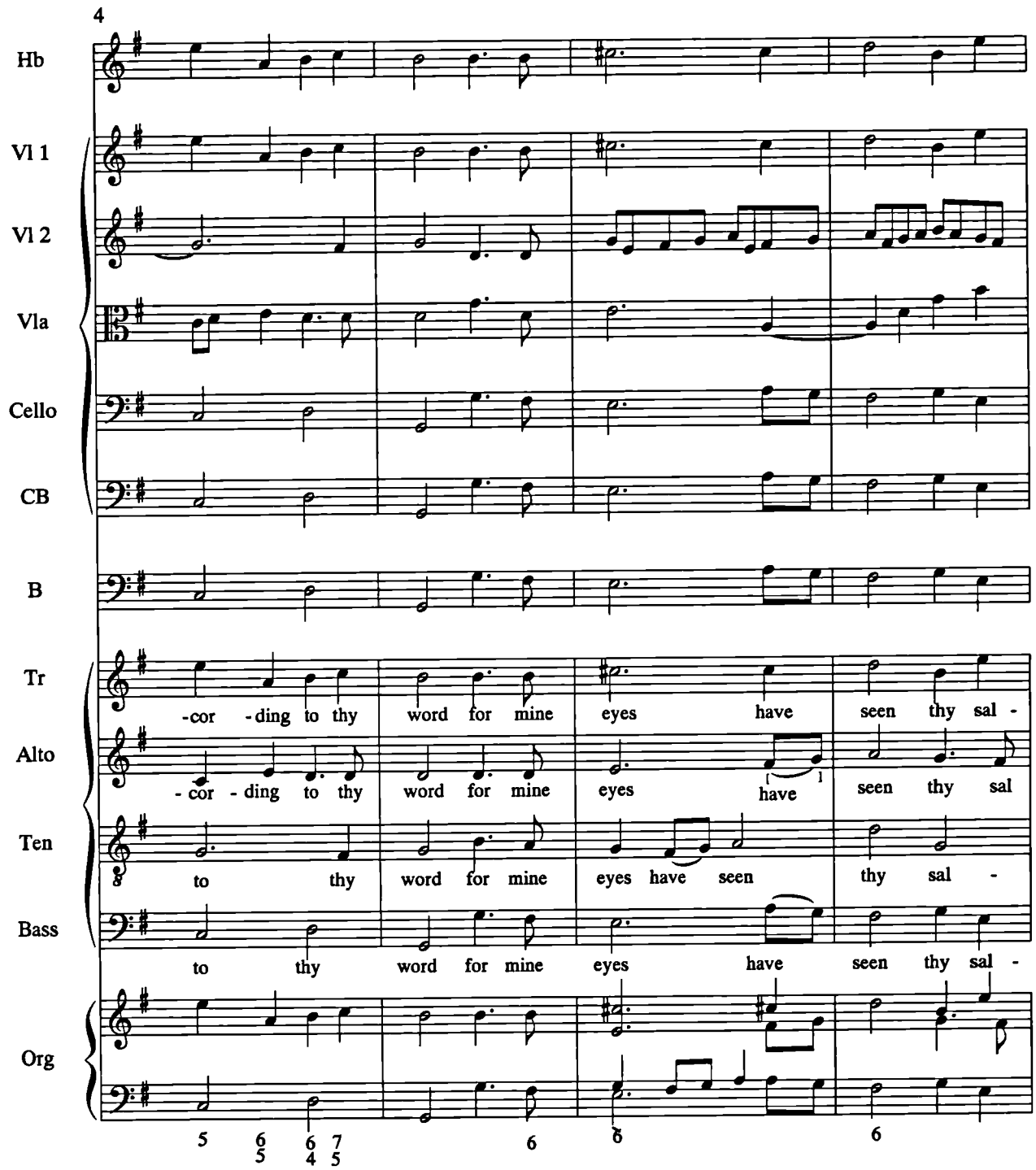

92
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
Ho - ly Ghost. As it was in the be - ginn - ing is
Ho - ly Ghost. As it was in the be - ginn - ing is
Ho - - ly Ghost. As it was in the be - ginn - ing is
Ho - ly Ghost. As it was in the be - ginn - ing is
6 5 5 6 5
4 3

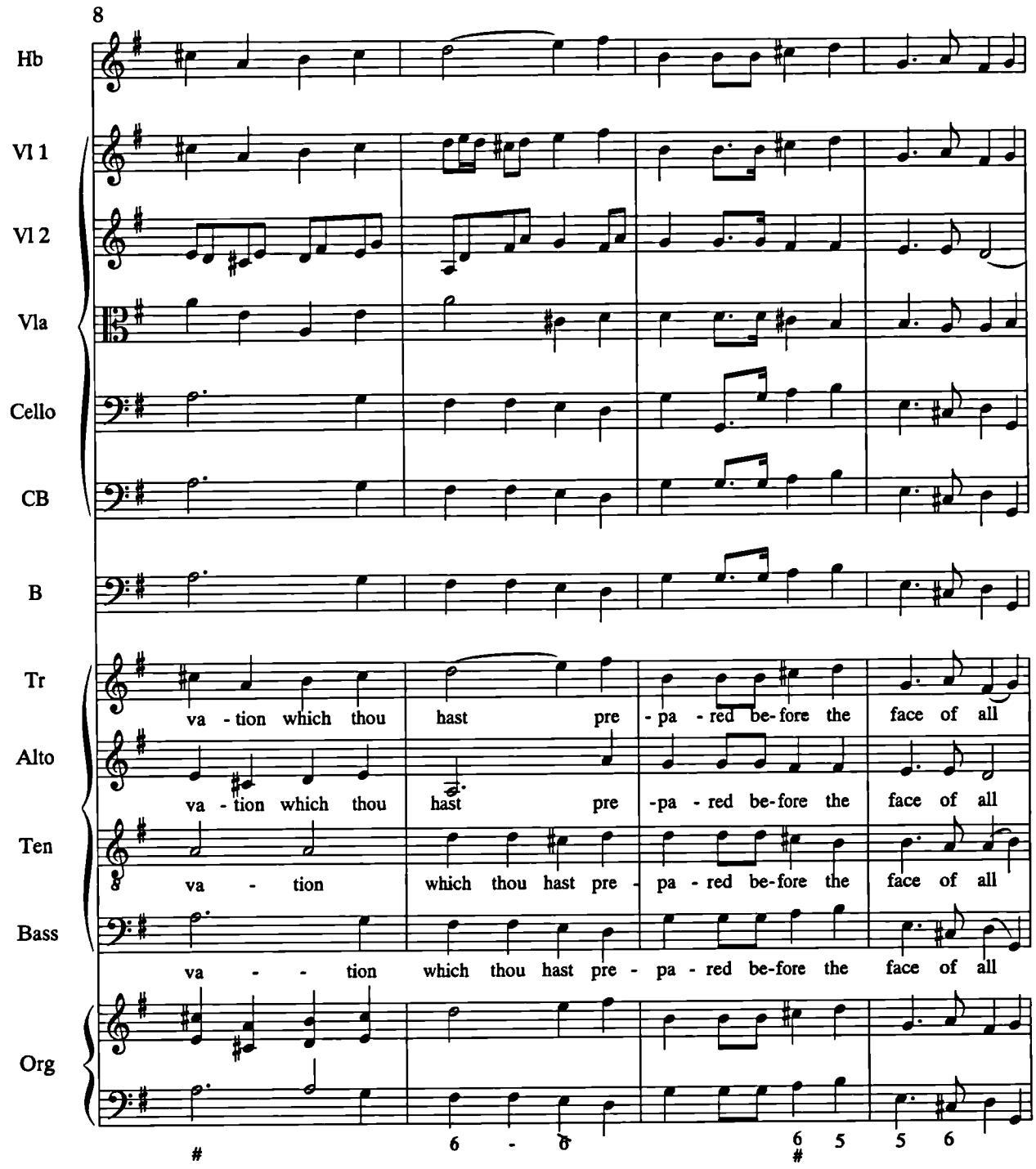

96
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
now and ev - er shall be, world with - out end. A - -
now and ev - er shall be, world with - out end.
now and ev - er shall be, world with - out end. world with - out
now and ev - er shall be, world with - out end.
6 6 6 6 5 - 6 6 5

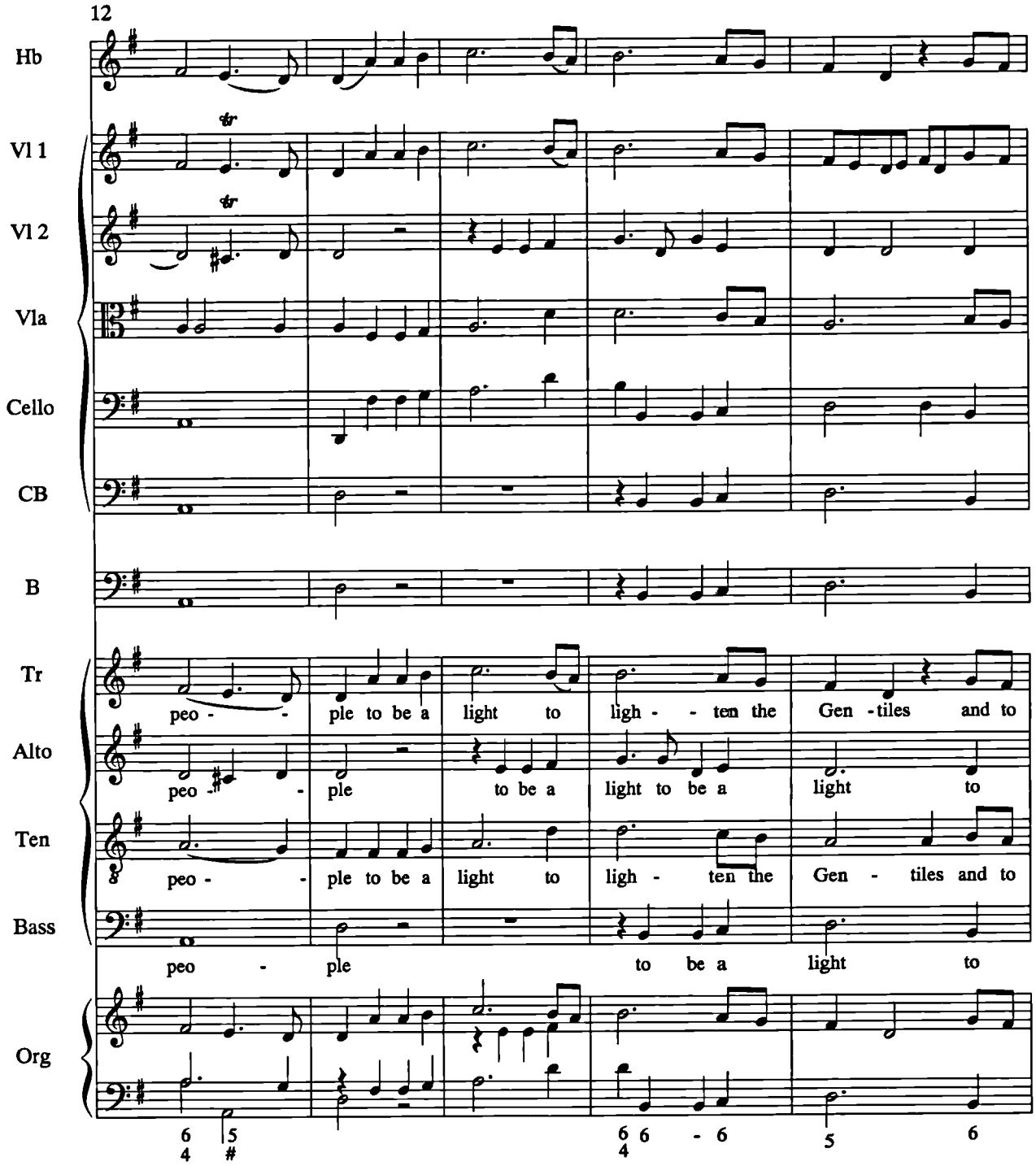

100
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
- men.
A - men.
A - -
A - -
- - men.
world with -out
end. world with-out
end. world with-out
end. A - -
A - - - - men.
6
6 4
6

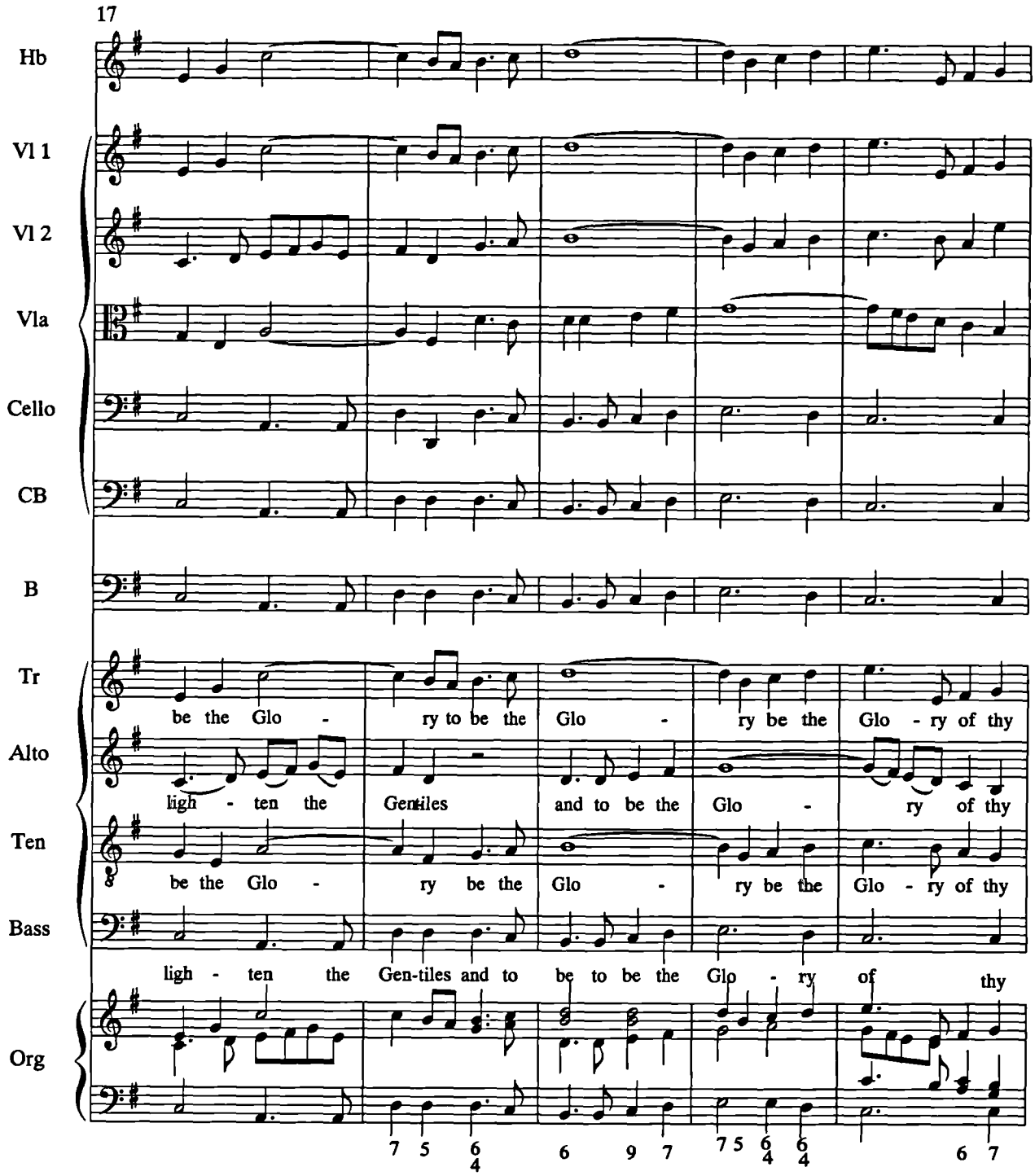

103
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
- men. A - men. A - men.
end. A - - men. A - - men.
- - - - - men. A - - men.
A - - - - - - - men.
6
3 5 4
5 3

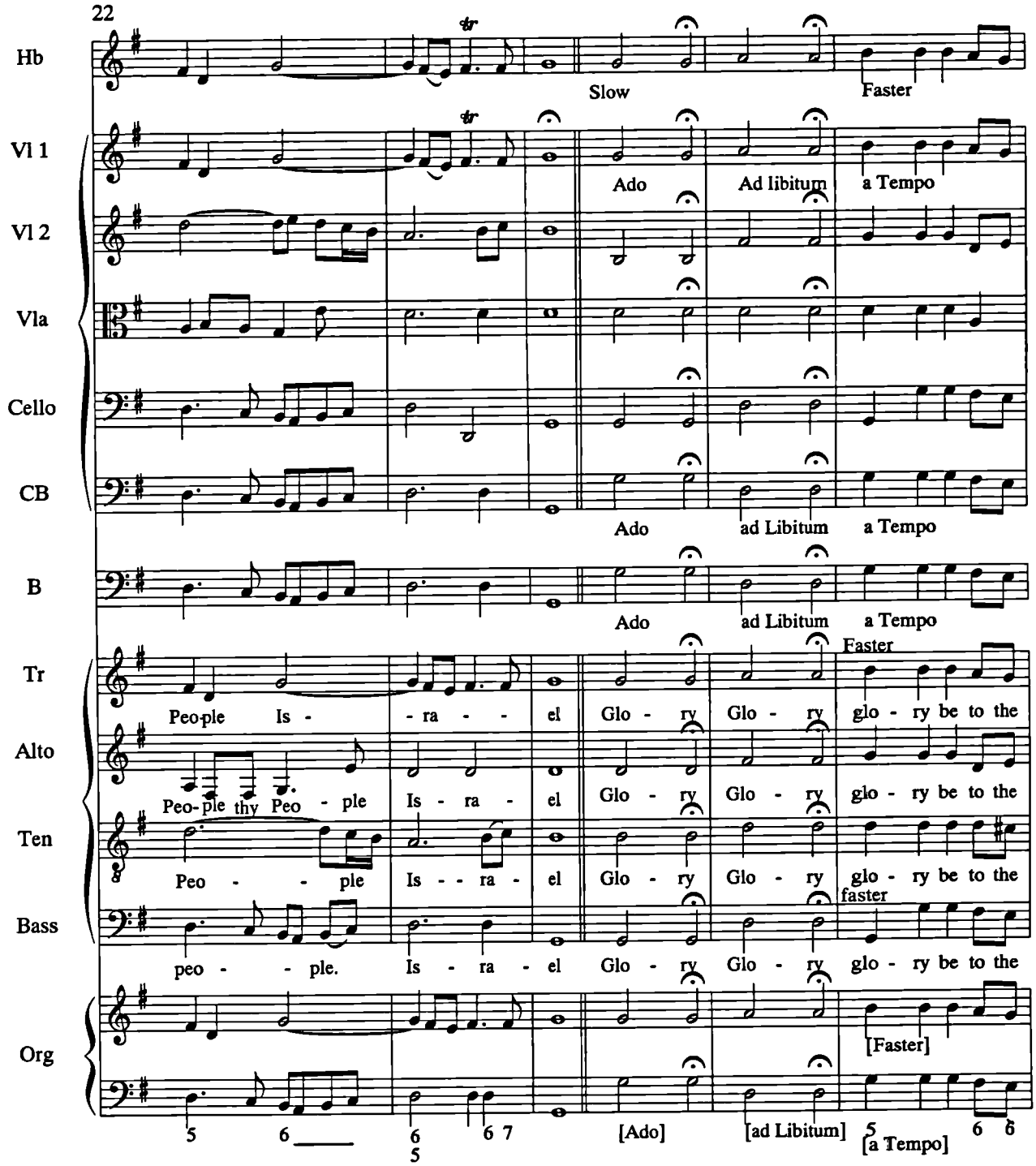

Nunc Dimittis in G major
Benjamin Cooke
Oboe
Violin 1
Violin 2
Tenor Violin
Violoncello
Contra Bass
Bass
Treble
Alto
Tenor
Bass
Organ
Lord now lett - est thou thy ser -vant de- part in peace ac
Lord now let - test thou thy ser -vant de - part in peace ac
Lord now let - test thou thy ser -vant de -part in peace ac -cor - ding
Lord now let - test thou thy ser -vant de -part in peace ac -cor -ding

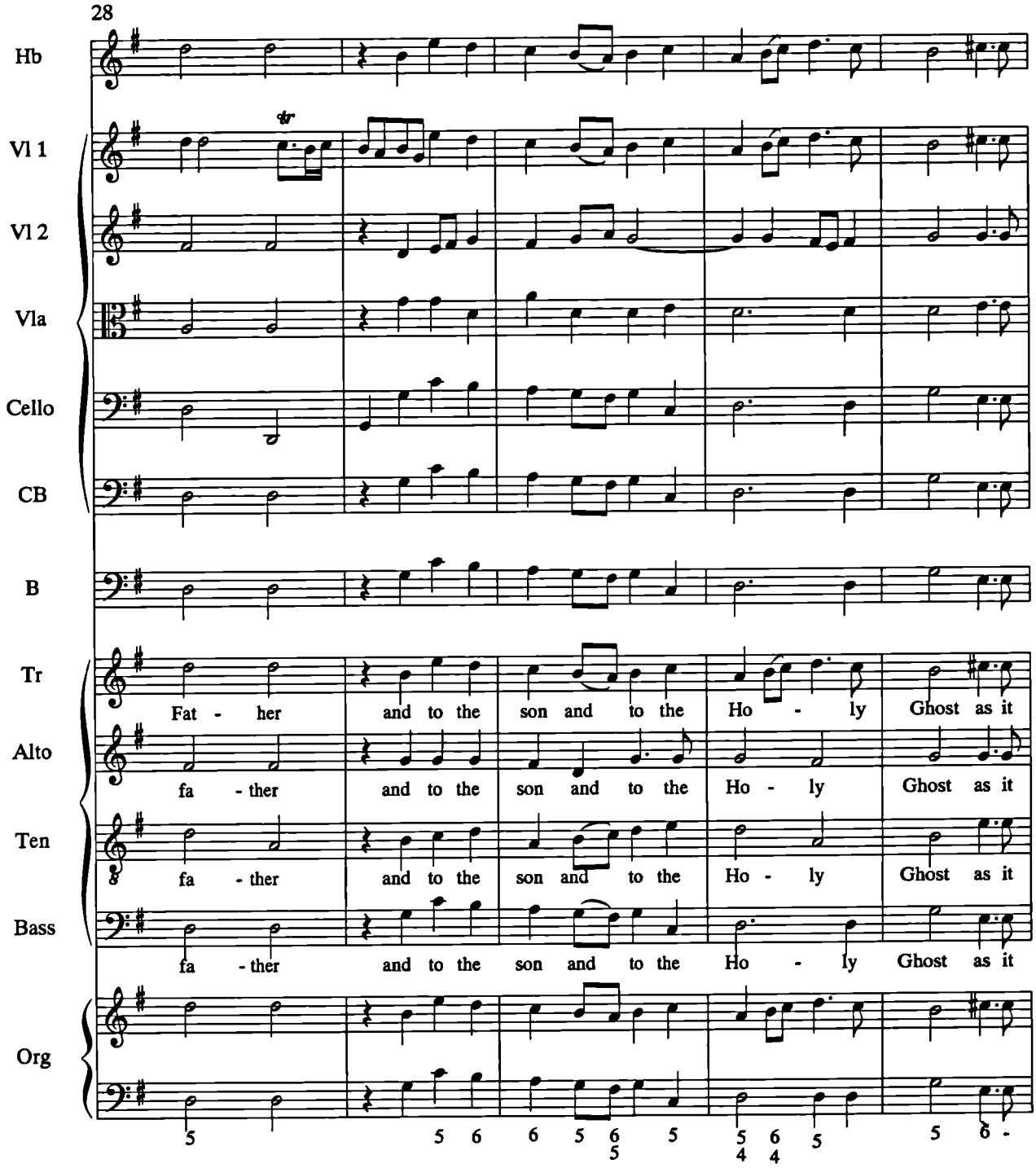

4
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
-cor - ding to thy word for mine eyes have seen thy sal -
- cor - ding to thy word for mine eyes have seen thy sal
to thy word for mine eyes have seen thy sal -
to thy word for mine eyes have seen thy sal -

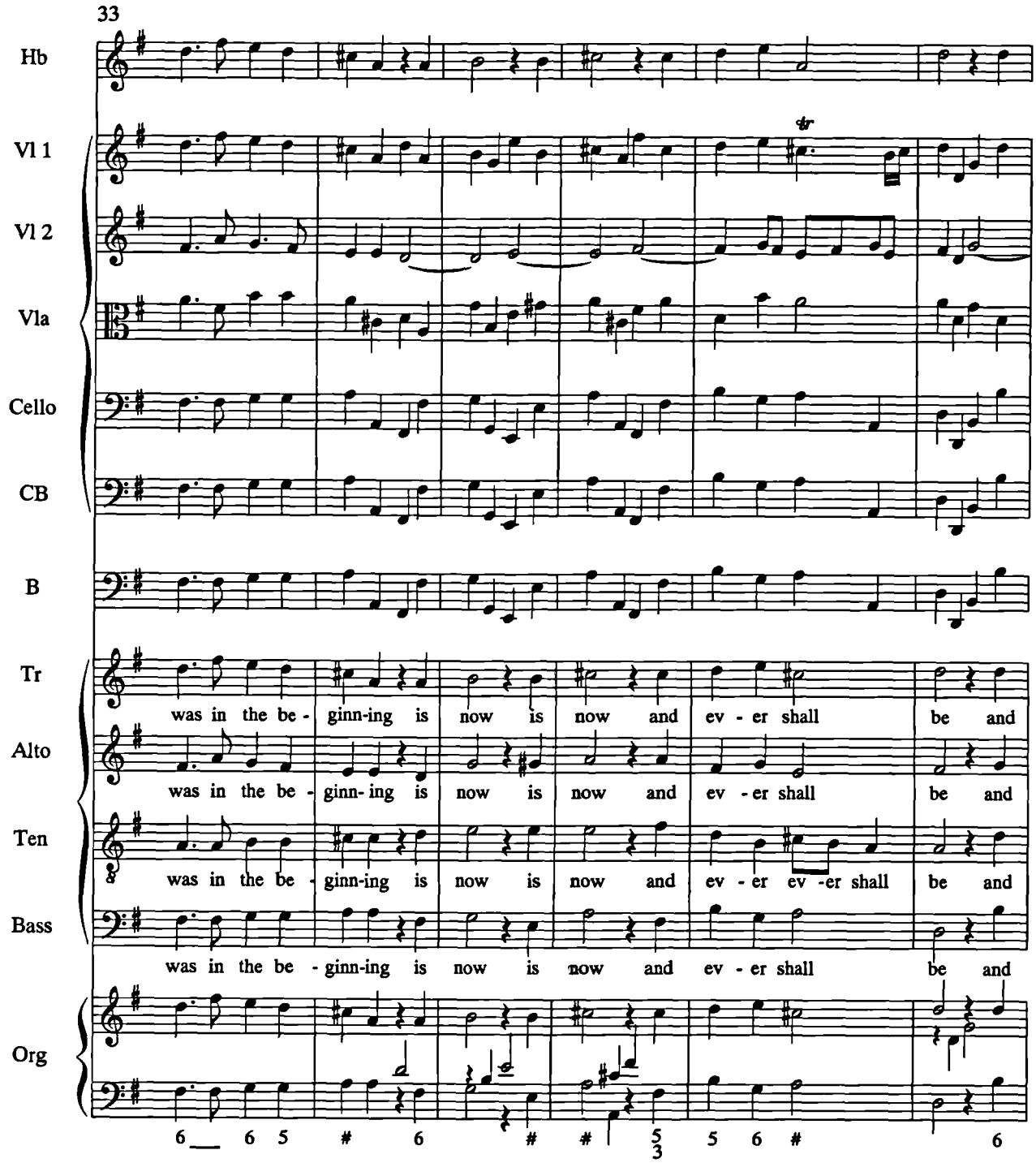

8
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
va - tion which thou hast pre - pa - red be-fore the face of all
va - tion which thou hast pre - pa - red be-fore the face of all
va - tion which thou hast pre - pa - red be-fore the face of all
va - - tion which thou hast pre - pa - red be-fore the face of all

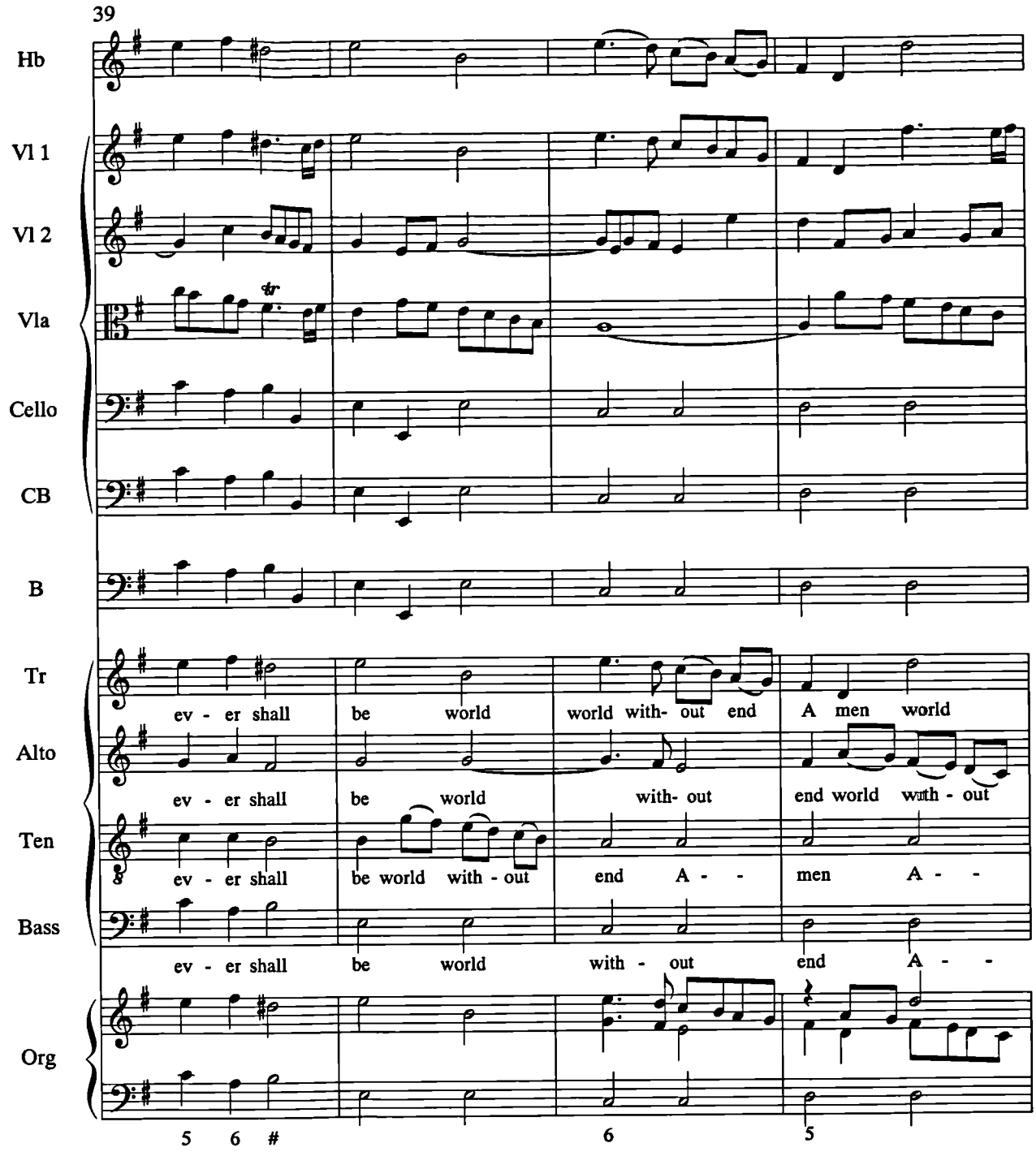
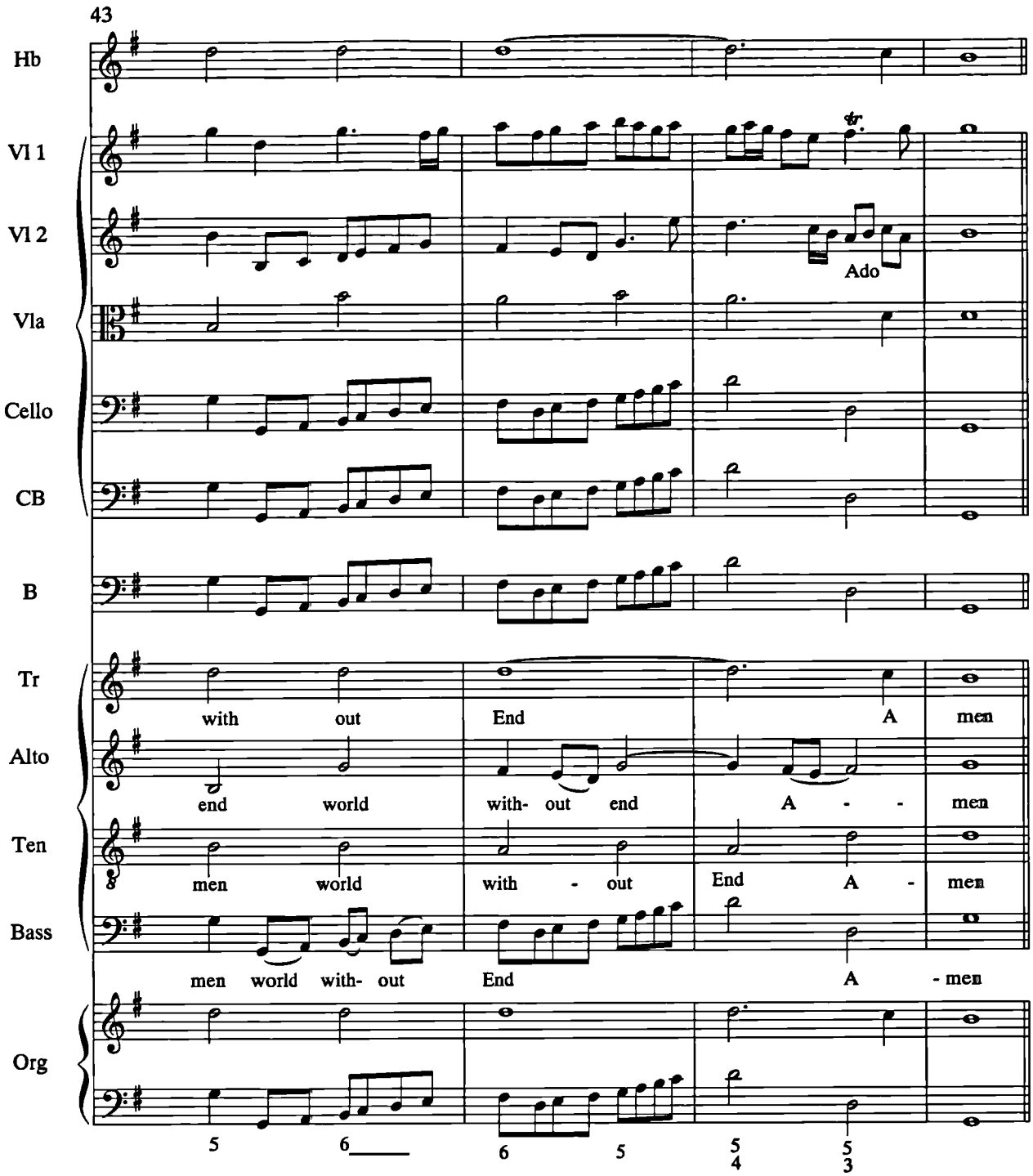

12
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
peo - - ple to be a light to ligh - - ten the Gen - tiles and to
peo - - ple to be a light to be a light to be a light to
peo - - ple to be a light to ligh - ten the Gen - tiles and to
peo - ple to be a light to


17
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
be the Glo - ry to be the Glo - ry be the Glo - ry of thy
ligh - ten the Gentiles and to be the Glo - ry of thy
be the Glo - ry be the Glo - ry be the Glo - ry of thy
ligh - ten the Gen-tiles and to be to be the Glo - ry of thy
7 5 6/4 6 9 7 7 5 6/4 6/4 6 7


22
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
Slow
Faster
Ado
Ad libitum
a Tempo
Ado
ad Libitum
a Tempo
Ado
ad Libitum
a Tempo
Faster
Peo-ple Is - - ra - - el Glo - ry Glo - ry glo - ry be to the
Peo-ple thy Peo - ple Is - ra - el Glo - ry Glo - ry glo - ry be to the
Peo - - - ple Is - - ra - el Glo - ry Glo - ry glo - ry be to the
faster
peo - - - ple. Is - ra - el Glo - ry Glo - ry glo - ry be to the
[Faster]
5 6 6 6 7 [Ado] [ad Libitum] 5 6 6
5
[a Tempo]


28
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
Fat - her and to the son and to the Ho - ly Ghost as it
fa - ther and to the son and to the Ho - ly Ghost as it
fa - ther and to the son and to the Ho - ly Ghost as it
fa - ther and to the son and to the Ho - ly Ghost as it


33
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
was in the be - ginn-ing is now is now and ev - er shall be and
was in the be - ginn- ing is now is now and ev - er shall be and
was in the be - ginn-ing is now is now and ev - er ev -er shall be and
was in the be - ginn-ing is now is now and ev - er shall be and
6 6 5 # 6 # # 5/3 5 6 # 6


39
Hb
Vl 1
Vl 2
Vla
Cello
CB
B
Tr
Alto
Ten
Bass
Org
ev - er shall be world world with- out end A men world
ev - er shall be world with- out end world with - out
ev - er shall be world with - out end A - - men A - -
ev - er shall be world with - out end A - -
5 6 #
6
5